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CANADA

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forward

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01-01-1

Canada coming apart at seams

By the editors

The Parti Quebecois' coming to power in Quebec marks not only a qualitative turn in the struggle for Quebec rights, but indeed in the politics of Canada and even North America. It has paralyzed all those who up until now have played an important part in all the political decision-making areas of the Canadian state — the capitalist class, their politicians and their ideologues. Canada, as an integrated state, is breaking up.

The old questions: What is Quebec, and What does Quebec want?, have now been replaced by the questions: What is Canada? and Where is Canada Going? How else can we interpret: the unilateral decision of the PQ government to pull those workers within its jurisdiction out from under the wage controls and so undermining the whole federal structure; its declared intention to replace the federal RCMP with a Quebec police force under its

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Canada in crisis

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own jurisdiction; and the pronouncement by its communications minister that in these matters his government considers Ottawa to be a "foreign power?"

Suddenly, in 20th century America, a new nation has established itself.

After more than two hundred years of smouldering and explosive expressions of its nationality, Quebec has in effect declared itself to be a nation, and its intention to act like one by establishing Quebec sovereignty. It is already a powerful one whose existence, as hateful as it may be to the federalists, leaves them little if any alternative but to accept and try to haggle out the best terms.

It is a nation of almost 7 million, established in an area which is rich in natural resources, above all iron, asbestos, paper and hydro electric power, that are essential to the operations of the North American economy. Heavy post-war investments, largely from the US, have industrialized it and transformed it into the most concentrated, most urbanized and most proletarianized population in all Canada. It is nationalism, rooted far back in the past and stimulated by an industrial revolution, that has given the Quebec working class struggles their elan, their high level of combativity and resilience. The national aspirations of the Quebecois workers are interlocked with their aspirations as workers in struggle against capitalism.

The PQ is not a labor party but a petit bourgeois party, led by technocrats, academics and intellectuals. But it has a broad popular mass base and above all the support of the working class. The PQ leadership may go very far indeed in adapting to the pressures of its mass base, even placing key sectors of the economy under public ownership. It is pledged to withdrawal from military alliances such as NORAD and NATO. But as the pressures from capital on it increase and the struggle takes on a sharper class character, its contradictions will come to the fore. Only as it becomes no longer able to meet the national and class aspirations of its working class base will the mass labor party become a reality.

The struggle of the Quebecois, which is a struggle for self determination, should have the support of the working class in the rest of Canada. They have no interest in any effort to preserve the imposed conditions of confederation, which right at this moment are being used to constrain the Saskatchewan NDP government from developing the natural resources of that province against their despoliation by US capitalist interests.

Exhilarated by the devastating defeat that the Liberal party has suffered both in Quebec and right across Canada in its self proclaimed role as saviour of Confederation, the NDP leadership has identified itself with the PQ and its broad program of social reform. But it has shamefully failed to identify itself with Quebec on the key, the overriding question — the struggle for Quebec sovereignty. The NDP, and even worse, the very concept of independent labor political action which it claims to uphold, thereby appear to the Quebecois as in no way substantially different from their known enemies.

The struggle for Quebec sovereignty has thrust the Canadian federal state and its would-be Liberal and Tory custodians into an unprecedented crisis. Every victory of the Quebecois strengthens the English Canadian workers' and the Native peoples' struggles against the Canadian capitalist class and their political stooges. The collapse of confederation is a resounding public proclamation of the bankruptcy of their rule and an affirmation of the sharpest kind that Canada must move off in a totally new and different direction. For a workers' government and the establishment of a socialist democracy!

"Peace" deception

The attendance of leading Toronto pacifists at a "peace movement" rally in Dublin, Ireland shows a serious misunderstanding of the role and significance of this movement. Though Helen Tucker (Voice of Women), Mrs. Norman Alcock (Peace Research Institute) and the other members of the delegation undoubtedly were sincere in their desire "to end the violence in Northern Ireland", they were only frustrating the desire of the Irish masses to expel British troops from their homeland and stop the imperialist exploitation of Ireland.

The so-called peace movement is being used to divert, disperse and demoralize the republican movement through pacifist sentiment manipulated by British imperialism. Their international crusade and support, and their feminist image, are being astutely exploited by the world press to block the civil rights and republican sentiments which emerged so dramatically under the leadership of Bernadette Devlin. The backing which this "peace movement" has received from the Pope and the Queen show its true colors — it exists to derail the struggle for independence.

The "peace movement", which has arisen in Ireland over the past few months, with strong backing from the Church and the middle class, started off explicitly to get the IRA out of middle class areas. Only recently has it masked its bias by calling on "men of violence" to lay down their arms. This shift in tone has enabled the peace movement to emerge in the world press as a beacon of hope, and to attract some support from war-weary Catholics who lack a perspective of struggle.

However, the "peace movement" has directed its fire only at the paramilitary groups, not at the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the British Army, whose presence is central to continued exploitation of the Irish masses. By excluding them from their category of "men of violence", the peace movement is at best a crystallization of pacifist sentiment which would leave the military occupation of Ireland intact.

With unemployment figures soaring to their highest level in 36 years and hitting hardest at the Catholic working class, an initial lull and introspection has affected the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland. In this context, the capitalist mass media have played on the Peace Women's marches in the hope of encouraging the growth of a mass sentiment for accepting the rule of British imperialism and for repression of the Irish Republican Army.

The mass sentiment for peace is not unhealthy. But peace will not come until the forces of repression are themselves disarmed. To call on the oppressed to disarm in the face of naked oppression will only perpetuate the present brutality of British occupation.

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CLC censors Steel union on chemical struggle

By P. Kent

After Canadian President Robert Stewart and his staff were fired by the US office-holders of the International Chemical Workers Union for protesting the lack of democracy in the Canadian set-up and expressing sympathy for a united front of chemical workers in Canada, they quickly moved to set up an independent Canadian Chemical Workers Union.

The Canadian Labor Congress leadership, many of its affiliates still having failed to meet the minimum guidelines on Canadian autonomy, pretended ignorance of the situation. It quietly recognized the newly US-office-appointed Frank Netherton as the head of the ICWU.

In the meantime, however, the Canadian Chemical Workers, as the ICWU contracts have been expiring, have moved to win certification of the locals. As of now they have picked up 5,000 of the 15,000 ICWU members. According to Stewart the Canadian union has yet to lose a certification vote. As the members of a small Brantford local appeared certain to switch to the Canadian union, ICWU President Netherton stated that the struggle between the ICWU and the CCWU is one of nationalism; "if the workers are excited by the nationalism they will probably vote to go to the Canadian Chemical Workers," he conceded.

Other CLC affiliates, although committed to recognition of the ICWU, as they have seen its membership swing over to the Canadian union, have moved in to pick up what dues paying members they can. Faced with this internecine struggle the CLC intervened last month by setting up a three-man committee. The committee report noted that the ICWU, besides its losses to the CCWU, has lost another 1,568 members to the Quebec-based CNTU, the Tobacco Workers International Union, the Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, and the United Steelworkers.

The committee felt compelled to say a few words about the expulsion of the former leadership of the ICWU by the US top brass. It modestly rebuked ICWU President Martino for not appearing to have had sufficient cause for the immediate dismissal of the Canadian leaders.

The committee also reprimanded the United Steelworkers for having "moved in and raided Kodak from the ICWU and ignored the justification procedures provided for in the CLC constitution". It noted: "The manner in which the CLC affiliates moved in for the kill when it appeared that the ICWU was in trouble does little to elevate the status of the trade union movement and its leaders. The very terms 'unity and solidarity' lose their meaning in these circumstances."

The committee also recommended discussions among the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, the shrinking ICWU, and the growing CCWU, to create one single union in the oil-chemical industry. It urged a vote of the memberships on the question.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

The *Declaration of Principles and Social Purpose* adopted by the 800,000 affiliate Ontario Federation of Labor convention was interpreted by some labor columnists as calling for an independent and socialist Canada. This would appear to be due to the fact that its goal of "a socialist province in a socialist Canada" was set within the framework of opposition to the US takeover of the Ontario economy.

After stating that all the forces and resources for a socialist Ontario exist, the declaration argued that "unfortunately, our full potential has not been realized. Our economic independence has been eroded and lost, our resources have been given away, our cultural identity has not been permitted to flower."

In its outline of labor's immediate goals, it urged "full employment in a growing economy, reasonable price stability, and a fair and equitable distribution of rising incomes." It also urged that "our economy must be repatriated from foreign control." However, it did not call for public ownership of natural resources or key sectors of industry. Instead, it limited itself to the demand for the establishment of a domestic heavy tool industry, and the vague concept of "public control" of "basic resources such as oil and other forms of energy".

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A Canadian University Press dispatch on a forum addressed by economics professor Paul Phillips has been reproduced in campus papers across the country. In the course of his address to a Winnipeg audience on US domination of the Canadian economy on November 25, Phillips said that unemployment and rising prices in Canada are linked to American domination of the country's industry, and only nationalization will solve the problem. Phillips said only "a radical and even revolutionary economic policy," which included "the destruction of present multinational mechanisms" would place Canada's economy under Canadian control.

●

It would appear that Alberta's Premier Peter Lougheed has become so beholden to the US colony in Alberta that he now conceives of himself as a governor of a US state. Late last month he announced to a startled house that he has told the governors of Montana, Washington and Oregon that his government is prepared to unilaterally "trade off" Alberta natural gas in return for lower US tariffs on petrochemicals.

When the Socred leader of the opposition girded himself to ask what kind of representation his government had made to the Canadian government in Ottawa re: tariffs and trade, Lougheed scolded him that if he had "any iota of understanding he would recognize that would be absolutely the wrong way to go about it."

"I intend," he declared, "to use everything I can" to change Canada's tariff regulations.

●

The role our Canadian-owned banks have played in facilitating the growth in Canada of American-based multinationals is now a fairly well documented story. Their relationship overseas to these same conglomerates is a murky subject but the facts suggest that the skills of profitable servitude learned so well at home have interesting export possibilities," wrote Peter Neary in the December issue of **Canadian Forum**.

Neary refers to an exposé of how the staid Canadian Bank of Nova Scotia laundered funds that Gulf Oil Corporation siphoned off for political bribery through a dummy account it set up on Gulf's behalf in its Nassau, Bahamas operations. The bank provided the required US dollars for Gulf's man in Nassau by picking it up from the local gambling casinos. The central figure was Gulf's respected chief executive officer W.K. Whiteford, a director on the Bank of Nova Scotia's board through the 1950's and down to 1965.

Just as its investigations were about to force the Royal Bank to open the books of its operations in the Bahamas, the Ontario Securities Commission abruptly and inexplicably ended a three month long regulatory hearing. The commission was seeking the whereabouts of a 1.2 million dollar debenture that could be used to obtain common shares of the Toronto-based Malartic Hygrade Gold Mines (Canada) Limited.

Malartic reported in 1974 that it sold the debentures to the Bahamas-based British Fidelity Bank and Trust Co. Ltd. (BFB&T). Officials of the Royal, touted as Canada's biggest bank, the heads of BFB&T who do their business through the Royal, and who knows who else, must have all sighed in relief when the subpoena demanding the release of the bank's records became invalid after secret discussions resulted in the closing of the hearings.

●

The charge of chauvinism — sometimes defined as blind enthusiasm for national glory, or exaggerated patriotism — has been flung at the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists by, among others, the pompous editors of the Toronto **Globe and Mail** who emblazon across their masthead the words "Canada's national newspaper."

ACTRA's crime? Its concern about the CBC's hiring policies. Early this month, ACTRA's TV performer members employed by the nationally owned and publicly financed network turned thumbs down on a settlement reached by its negotiators which included a 13% wage increase, retroactive to last June. The issue was CBC's rejection of the union's proposal that a board be formed to rule on the network's foreign performer casting. The proposed board was to be composed of a union and a CBC representative with an impartial third party.

What's at stake was dramatically brought to public attention several months ago when an American actress, Kathleen Widdoes, was hired by CBC to play the role of the noted Canadian feminist Nellie McClung. When ACTRA demanded the part be played by a Canadian, CBC cancelled production, but later

recast the role with the internationally acclaimed Canadian actress, Kate Reid.

ACTRA explained its recent refusal to grant work permits to four foreign actors already hired for CBC plays on the grounds that "despite prolonged and strenuous representations ...concerning the casting of foreign talent in CBC drama and variety productions, the corporation continues to relegate Canadian talent as inferior to foreign performers."

ACTRA efforts to meet its elementary responsibility to defend the jobs of its members and to increase job possibilities for Canadians in the performing arts in Canada have brought the fake charge of chauvinism down on its head.

CBC suddenly, one week after the rejection vote, agreed to regular and in-depth consultations on all such matters.

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A view of Sask Waffle manifesto

By Ross Dowson

Some one and a half years after they withdrew from the NDP — in April 1975 — those Saskatchewan militants who had been part of the broad socialist current that developed in almost every provincial section, called the Waffle, drew up a Manifesto. Late in 1976 they prepared an introduction to the document and are now circulating them together in pamphlet form.

It is in the belief that this is an important document worthy of the serious consideration of all the Canadian left, that we make these few preliminary comments in what we hope will result in a continuing discussion.

Its major significance is that it outlines the experience and the views of a broad socialist current that developed over a period of time right inside the reformist NDP, and in the process of its experiences came to the conclusion that it is necessary to build a socialist, a revolutionary party in Canada, that the NDP is not such a party, and it is indeed not possible to transform it into one.

The Manifesto projects some of the key concepts that its supporters learned in the course of their experience as NDP activists — their evolution from reformist to revolutionary consciousness, from evolutionary concepts, to the Marxist theory of the state.

The section on the Liberal Capitalist State exposes as a myth the concept widely held by the trade union and NDP leadership that the state is a "neutral" body that they can pull over to their side against the capitalist class. The Manifesto characterizes the Canadian state as a "'dictatorship' of the owning class, however successful may be the disguise which it wears" and commits its authors to ending this dictatorship by "replacing it with control by the majority: the class of workers and producers."

It sees Canada, where monopoly capitalism prevails, as "both the victim of United States imperialism and at the same time its firms are active allies in the effort to command the homeland of others." The Manifesto ends with the slogan for an "Independent Socialist Canada" — while correctly defining that the class struggle in this country "is between the workers and an owning class which has dual loyalties and dual sources of power."

It projects the realization of a fully Canadian trade union movement, but warns against any tendency to "endorse every break-away local on the mechanical assumption that it is prima-facie progressive... The struggle for democracy and in many cases the demand for independence" it states, "must be recognized as an intimate part of the growing militancy of workers..."

Quebec, according to the Manifesto, is a nation exploited by American, English-Canadian and an indigenous Quebec owning class and it "endorses the right and justice of the Quebec working class in its struggle for self-determination."

Any consistent reader of **Forward** cannot help but be struck by the fact that the Socialist League, whose views it expresses, stands in substantial agreement with the Saskatchewan Waffle on all the above key questions.

While there are many militants who share the Saskatchewan Waffle view that the NDP is not a revolutionary party and it is extremely doubtful, if not excluded, that it can be transformed into one, they nonetheless continue to support it and even remain in it and active to varying degrees. The Waffle however concluded that it was necessary to pull out and commence the process of building a socialist party independent of and in frontal opposition to the NDP.

The Manifesto does not explain why the Saskatchewan Waffle, even given its understanding of the fundamental inadequacies of the NDP, did not continue to function as a socialist caucus inside the NDP transmitting its experiences and promoting its views within the living processes of the NDP. Nor does it explain why, given its conviction of the need to have an existence independent of the NDP, the Waffle does not have a position of critical support of the NDP, all the more in that it quite correctly does not consider itself to be a party, but a pre-party formation.

Behind these shortcomings in the Manifesto, in our opinion, lies its failure to correctly come to grips

next year country 75¢
CHILD CARE FOR ALL
Destruction of Daycare in Saskatchewan?
GRAIN HANDLING: A Lesson in Tripartism
Saskatchewan Corporate Citizen
NORANDA Investing in Dictatorship

Next Year Country, magazine associated with Sask. Waffle.

with that complex and contradictory phenomenon called the NDP.

While at one point the Manifesto grants that the "working class voters have only one significant party — the NDP", and that there is "no other party that it can regard even partly as its own", it defines the NDP as "a reformist party of frontier capitalists, not a labor party..." While this definition may in part be due to the specifically Saskatchewan character of the Manifesto, in what way is the NDP, yes even in Saskatchewan, not a labor party? It is difficult to accept the argument that the NDP "has no more commitment to nationalization as a technique of social policy today than the major capitalist parties," or that it "destroyed", its reputation as even "a social democratic party" by the purge of the Waffle in 1972-73. It is our opinion that no other position than that the NDP is a labor party and that revolutionary socialists must give it critical support is a tenable one.

The Saskatchewan Waffle did not link up with any other current that stands outside the NDP, and it identifies itself with the need to build a socialist party. They took their own stand. Why they did so is by no means clear in the Manifesto. There is not even a mention of any of those groupings that already claim to be the party of Canadian socialism in opposition to the NDP — the Communist Party, the Canadian Party of Labor, the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), etc., etc., let alone an evaluation of them either individually or as a phenomenon that makes them not the socialist party or even a possible component of this party that is yet to be built.

Nor is there any mention of the various revolutionary formations that do not call themselves parties, even though some of them act as if they were parties. Do its authors fail to deal with these formations, many of them larger than the Waffle, some with a tradition, in order to clear themselves of what some might think to be factionalism, or in the belief that these groups, unlike the Waffle itself, are hangovers of disputes of the past that can be dismissed out of hand as irrelevant?

It is necessary in our opinion for any revolutionary current to define itself in relation to other currents — not only to justify itself to its own forces and those it aspires to win to its side, but to clarify its own views in the light of all the experiences of the class. Even if some or all of these groups could be proven to be irrelevant, they may well display some tendencies that any revolutionary formation must be wary of — such as degeneration into apologism for foreign bureaucratic formations that would manipulate the working class here in their own narrow diplomatic interests, groups that are in reality personal cliques, or that do not correctly apply the lessons of the past to the present, but are dogmatists or sectarians.

At one point the manifesto states that "membership in the Waffle means commitment to the first stage of forming a genuine party of the working class." If the Waffle is a pre-party formation and joining it the first stage, what is the second, the third stage? There is no suggestion of how the Saskatchewan Waffle sees the process of building the socialist party unfolding. The absence of any hint that there are forces that project the possibilities of fusions and unification suggests that they see the process as a linear one — that the Waffle sees itself as growing in competition with all other declared socialist groups by the accumulation of ones and twos.

But that seems hardly possible too when it is apparent that they see themselves as a Saskatchewan movement and as such that they "can never be the dominant or major influence in a socialist party in Canada as a whole." That recognition requires the opening up of discussions with other revolutionary socialists across Canada. For a party that is to give leadership to the working class struggles in Canada must have a cross-Canada cadre, above all concentrated in the key centres of capitalist power — industrial Ontario and Quebec.

The Manifesto is a good opening for such discussions and can be obtained from the Saskatchewan Waffle, Box 3102, Regina, Saskatchewan.

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Airborne Warning and Control System

Ottawa hightails after Nato war drive

By P. Kent

Ottawa's expenditures on military hardware and general military operations have been going up and up. And they are going to continue to rise — as the lines of the unemployed widen, and cutbacks continue to eat into essential social services — fuelling inflation and increasing taxes.

The amount has risen to nearly 3.4 billion dollars, about 9% of the national budget — up 13% from the past fiscal year — and will be going up to about 20% of the total budget. These shocking figures were interpolated into a January 14 **Globe and Mail** report of a speech in which the prime minister himself admitted that the costs are reaching "astronomical heights."

Expenditures on military hardware, largely for Lockheed's Orion patrol planes and tanks, were increased last year by 12% a year for the rest of the decade. But that's not good enough, according to US Ambassador Thomas Enders. In a speech at the Bank of Nova Scotia annual board meeting last month in Halifax, he expressed US State Department determination "that Canada will also decide to increase its over-all military budget... by enough," as he put it, "to prevent high increases in equipment spending from starving ordinary operational needs."

And that doesn't mean that the heat's off for increased expenditures on military hardware. NATO officials are on the verge of deciding to set up an Airborne Warning Control System (AWACS) in Europe to cost a total of 2.5 billion dollars. Canada's share, according to Defence Minister Danson, will amount to another 200 million dollars spread over several years. The project calls for 27 Boeing 707 jets and requires that the flying radar screens operate over Canada. Danson, who made his first visit to Washington last month has not yet revealed what the scope of Canada's participation will be. But besides allowing the US 707's to fly over Canada up to the Soviet Arctic it could mean providing ground facilities and Canadian personnel actually participating in these provocative flights.

Picking up the ball flung by the US ambassador, Danson said that he completely agreed that there had to be an increase in the armed forces, before the 200 delegates at the annual meeting of the Conference of Defence Associations in Ottawa this month. This cabal of retired and reservist generals, colonels and captains, provided Danson with the opportunity to make his first major speech since taking office and was honored for the first time with the presence of a prime minister. Chief of Defence Staff General Dextraze affirmed before this sinister assembly of government advisors that Canada's armed forces, now standing at 78,000 regulars and 20,000 reservists, need to be expanded by 4 to 5,000 more men at a cost of 60 to 70 million dollars.

The conference was not mollified by General Dextraze's dismissal of its demand for various global mobilization contingency plans as being unnecessary. No doubt Dextraze had in mind the War Measures maneuvers waged against Quebec only 6 years ago. And his staff did provide the conference with the premiere of Operations Gamescan 76, a 57 minute film on the extent of the behind-the-scenes military operations at the Montreal Olympics. The delegates called for plans for situations that could require up to 250,000 men and support structures "to sustain Canadian field formations in military operations or major civil emergencies."

Ottawa is pulling the Canadian people into the escalting arms drive that threatens the world with catastrophe. It is increasingly urgent that the organized labor movement and the NDP demand a halt to the government's program of bombs not butter, that opposition be organized against any commitment to AWACS with its provocative flights in Canadian airspace, and that a campaign be mounted for Canadian withdrawal from the US-dominated aggressive NATO and NORAD military alliances.

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Over half live in abject poverty

Penny-pinching existence for aged

By Paul Kane

Ontario's elderly are quite satisfied, if we are to believe the senior budget advisor of the Ontario Tory government. "Hundreds of little old ladies and gentlemen write to express their gratitude for the Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement Program (GAINS)," claims Mr. Lett.

The occasion for these patronizing words was the release by the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto of a budget guide for pensioners. But on closer examination it would appear that any expressions of gratitude could only be thanks for small mercies, in the face of the nagging desperation that plagues the elderly.

The GAINS supplement, for those eligible, at its maximum is only $38.88 per month.

For, while the Council's report falls short of presenting a true picture, it nonetheless presents a totally different one — often abject poverty, a "penny pinching existence", an "appalling state of dental health" with the oldest and increasingly more helpless in an ever more difficult position.

According to the council's budget guide, at least half of Metro's elderly have incomes below various agencies' estimation of the "poverty line." And the only reason why the other half of Metro's elderly are above the line is admittedly because they live in their own mortgage-free homes. The council estimates that the average elderly couple needs between $654 and $695 a month to live decently. However, a couple with no other income than the Old Age Security Pension, the Guaranteed Income Supplement and the provincial Guaranteed Annual Income Supplement (if eligible) would have only $466.23 a month. This amounts to a $188 to $229 a month shortfall which accumulates month after month and into years.

For single persons, with higher unit costs for food and shelter, the situation is considerably worse. Thus in 1974 some 52% of single elderly over 65 lived in poverty, while 69% of those over 70 lived below the poverty line.

Mr. Lett claimed the council's budget figures were not accurate on the grounds that they do not include half-price transportation and recreation costs, and free OHIP coverage, etc. but he ended up with the feeble defence that Ontario's benefits are higher than any other province's.

Mr. Lett stated that he did not anticipate any GAINS increases other than the one given over a year ago, in light of the drastic cutbacks in social services by both federal and provincial governments in the past year.

The elderly, their value as exploitable labor power used up, are an irritating and completely negative factor in the schemes of the employers and their political stooges in government. Capitalist society is oriented completely to the youth, as vigorous, flexible exploitable labor, and as bedazzled consumer.

But the elderly are the physical embodiment of the workers' future. Succeeding generations only stand behind today's aged, waiting in line to move into their present shameful condition.

The working class and its organizations have a crucial stake in the welfare of the elderly. The cutbacks are designed where possible to thrust responsibility for the aged into the vagaries and shame of charity, and back onto the family who have increasing problems of their own. With developing job insecurity, it is now crucial that pension plans be made completely portable. Retirement plans and annuities, cut to ribbons by the cheapening dollar, must be fully indexed by the government, and the basic pension, starting at 60, must meet what such professional bodies as the Social Planning Council estimate to be essential to live decently.

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Lack of strategy stalls anti-AIB fight

By P. Kent

When will Phase III in organized labor's struggle for the abolition of Ottawa's AIB wage freeze get underway?

A Statistics Canada report on February 11 revealed that the Consumers Price Index for January registered the highest monthly increase since the controls were imposed back in October 1975. Higher food and shelter costs drove the annual rate of increase in the cost of living up to 6.1%, compared with the rate of 5.8% a month earlier.

Liberal government officials, with the advice of top corporate heads, the encouragement of US government advisors, and the support of the Tories, are talking about the removal of the controls—within the next year, or six months, or less—suggesting all that is needed are assurances from the union leadership that there be no catch-up drive. But the controls are still firmly in place and are being vigorously enforced by Anti Inflation Board officials.

Some 450 workers at four flour mills in Montreal have been on strike since January 31 to win contracts such as were negotiated with the owners of the Phenix Mill for an 11.88% increase in the first year and 11.95 in the second, which the AIB has rolled back to 9.39% and 7.3%. The Montreal strikers, organized in the CNTU, on February 12 won the support of Food & Allied Workers in the west not to supply the struck Montreal mills. The strikers have vowed to stay out until the cutbacks are cancelled. Last month, 3,000 employers at five Quebec plants of Celanese (Canada), even the Drummondville local which was on strike for six months, had their negotiated contract rolled back. On February 17 the AIB rolled back wage settlements involving 25,000 workers in four supermarket chains operating in Ontario.

The wage freeze has been very costly for the workers of Canada. According to Grace Hartman, CUPE members alone lost 23.3 million dollars in the past 15 months as a result of AIB cubacks of negotiated wage increases. This blockage of the collective bargaining system made 1976 the poorest year for labor organization since 1972. Ontario reported 17% fewer certifications than in 1975.

Phase I in labor's strategy to smash the controls was the organization in the spring of '76 of the most massive series of demonstrations yet seen across the country. Phase II was the mounting of the first general strike in North America—October 14—when over 1 million walked off their jobs. So far Phase III remains undefined, although on January 29 a CLC executive statement suggested that it would take the form of a pressure campaign against the provincial governments "to convince the provinces they should refuse renewal of controls agreements with the federal government when they expire March 31."

Since then however the Socred government in BC, where the October 14 Day of Protest was the most successful, has stated that it intends to sign on again after March 31.

Instead of making an opening, a real setback was dealt by the treacherous stand of Manitoba's NDP Premier Schreyer. Following a hectic 4½ hour meeting with CLC executives on February 14, he said that "it's unlikely" that Manitoba will withdraw. He attempted to brush aside his violation of the federal party's solidarity with labor's drive for an immediate end of the controls with the comment that there has never been "a lock-step relationship," between the NDP and the unions—although his stand is in direct violation of a resolution

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anti-controls struggle

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passed by the delegates at last month's NDP convention urging the province to withdraw from the controls.

Saskatchewan NDP Premier Blakeney, whose government set up its own controls structure like Quebec, but which the PQ scrapped, at the same meeting failed to commit Saskatchewan to pull out on March 31. He made the evasive statement that he "would like to see the period of decontrols commence in April," and it would be "more desirable" if the dismantling took place at the same time across the country. Both Blakeney and Schreyer claim that public opinion in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which their policies have been instrumental in shaping, supports controls.

The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor condemned Minister of Finance Macdonald's statements along similar lines as being "nothing more than an incredibly cynical attempt to create the impression that the government is being pressured by the public to retain controls and only gradually remove them.

Following a meeting of full-time union officers, the SFL announced specific plans involving the regional Fight back Committees which were developed for October 14.

Local and provincial demonstrations, meetings and work disruptions are expected in 1977, and any group that is forced to strike because of the AIB will get full support of organized labor.

The January issue of the Metro Toronto Labor Council's bulletin reported the results of a questionnaire that had been distributed at the November 1976 convention. Of the over 200 delegates who responded, 78.3% consider that the October 14 Day of Protest was successful or very successful, with 17.7% thinking it had no impact. The poll showed that while nearly everyone wants the election of an NDP government into office, a decisive majority wants further extra-parliamentary actions, with 78% wanting another day of protest or general strike. What does the CLC leadership propose in Phase III?

Where are we going, & what is to be done?

By The Editors

The cries that Canada is breaking up, while designed to rouse fears about the unplotted way ahead, nonetheless are—true.

Exhortations from the cabal of Liberal, Tory and Socred servants of Canada's corporate elite—that the working class should try to keep it pasted together by joining in their attempts to frustrate and block the Québécois efforts to establish national sovereignty—are false. Besides, it would appear that these efforts, even with the help of the NDP leadership, are fore-doomed to failure.

For, on the one hand, even Trudeau has despaired that Canadians as a people are "unpatriotic", too "cynical and blasé" about Canada. There is no substantial nationalism in Canada that identifies with the Canadian state and its servile ruling class who are widely recognized as failing to stand up against Washington's repeated violations of Canada's national sovereignty.

On the other hand, the struggle in Québec itself has proven to be irrepressible. There is little doubt when Lévesque says Quebec's course to independence is irreversible that he speaks for the most farseeing and dynamic forces in Québec society who, an increasing number of observers admit, are rapidly becoming the decisive and even the formal majority.

The crises of the old and present Canada are in reality nothing but the crises of the complex of bureaucratic and repressive class structures imposed and cunningly shaped and reshaped to guarantee the ownership of the vast resources and industrial plant of this country by monopoly capitalism—for their profit—no matter what the cost to the lives of the present and future generations of the working people.

"Pierre? I think we have solved the problem."

Quebec's course firm, irreversible

While this crisis finds its first expression on a constitutional plane in a period of profoundly uneven and only developing class conflict, it is nonetheless a product of deep underlying social tensions and conflicts. Canada is approaching a decisive turning point in its history. Once a colony of British imperialist interests, established through the conquest of the Québécois and the imprisonment of the native peoples in reserves, it has become a capitalist dependency or satellite of the US imperialist colossus. With Quebec, Canada is in the process of breaking up—at its weakest link.

Where is it going? This new turn in the 200 year long struggle of the Québécois for national liberation makes it possible at long last to conceive that this country, not just francophone Québec but anglophone Canada also, can be reshaped to meet all the hopes and aspirations of her peoples—which in the opinion of **Forward**'s editors can only be realized in a socialist commonwealth.

The Québécois are breaking out of confederation on their own way to establishing a new nation state. The character of that state will be determined in the final analysis in the process of the struggle of the contending forces within Québec society itself. Quite correctly the Québécois will reject all opinion and advice that does not recognize the full legitimacy of that state, now in birth, no matter what the repercussions of its formation are on the Canadian nation state.

It is no longer sufficient to recognize the right of the Québécois to self determination. That right is already in practice. It is now necessary insofar as the anglophone working class is concerned, to recognize the right to separation and separation itself.

Rulers in disarray and confusion

Any concept that the separation of Québec is bad for the rest of Canada is completely false. And it is no more acceptable when covered over with a veneer of what is passed off as "socialist theory." Of course socialism can not be built in a Canada that stops abruptly at the Ottawa river. No more than socialism can be built on the advanced capitalist economy of Québec alone. But the situation, while different, would not be qualitatively different in a Canada that ranges all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. While workers can take power in one country and should grasp any opportunity to do so, they cannot establish socialism in one country—certainly not in Canada with its economy grossly distorted by the demands of the imperialist world market and above all by US imperialist ownership of its key and strategic sectors.

The dynamic of the struggle now unfolding in Quebec tends to sustain the view that it is there we will witness the first socialist breakthrough

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Editor: Wayne Roberts
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What is to be done?

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on the North American continent. The overwhelming majority of those who conceive of themselves as socialists in Québec today are already deeply involved and firmly committed to this process and their forces are expanding. Besides, the simple fact of the matter is that freedom and socialism cannot be established in Canada unless the Québécois are free—anglophone labor cannot be free while francophone labor is not free.

The capitalist class of Canada and all that serves its rule, with the collapse of the 200 year long effort to contain the Québécois, are in profound confusion and disarray. While holding federal office the Liberal Party controls the government of only two small provinces. In Québec, its stronghold since the days of Laurier, the party is undergoing a continuing process of deterioration, and remains leaderless. A party of uneasy alliances, the Tories are paralized and saddled with a leadership that is a public joke. Riddled with scandals involving nuclear energy sales and internal security, the credibility of parliament continues to decline. With a PQ minister representing Québec, the death knell was rung on federal-provincial ministers' conferences and their secret deals that so long sustained the creaking state structure.

Canada has no national economic strategy, no national energy policy and no policy on the native peoples. Faced with a continuing recession, the capitalist politicians see no way out but to demolish the feeble FIRA controls on foreign investments and clear the way for what they now hope will be a new flood of US capital and complete the US imperialist takeover. Never before in Canadian history has the capitalist state, its governmental apparatus, its political parties and their leaderships been so compromised and discredited.

For a constitutional assembly!

In no way can they be counted on to solve any one of the problems now confronting anglophone Canada in the interests of the majority of the poulation. Left to themselves however they will again rally to patch together the results of their past schemings, so that their ship can once more lumber on, if only to flounder at the next turn. At this critical turning point in history, the future of anglophone Canada cannot be left to these jerry-builders of the past. We must move out on a new course, the people themselves must enter the arena of history.

In somewhat similar circumstances in past world history the concept of a constituent or constitutional assembly has been projected. This idea is being talked about in various circles today in Canada—with Trudeau flippantly saying that in such an eventuality he would himself run for office.

To meet this crisis and to break out of the present impasse we support this concept of a new constituent assembly. Pressure could be mounted across the country to force the present government to issue such a call and allocate the necessary public funds to get the process underway. Should it balk, the governments of Saskatchewan and Manitoba and/or the Canadian Labor Congress with the support of other popularly based organizations could take the initiatives on their own that could force the government to act—or failing that, themselves set the process underway so that it would establish its own legitimacy.

Among the many things this would involve would be the striking off of a broad representative impartial commission with ample funds and all government facilities at its disposal, including prime radio and TV time, that would hold open sessions at all key points in the country. There, spokespersons from all political, cultural social organizations and bodies, and even individuals, could present papers and amplify their views on a new constitution for Canada.

The opportunity to reshape Canada

These discussions would inevitably deal with such important questions as whether a 20th century Canada would want as its head of state a Queen of another country, whether it should have an appointed Senate restricting the powers of the elected assembly, what the authority and term of office of the assembly would be, whether it would have representation on the basis of professions, of trades, from places of work, whether or how much representation it would have from inherited wealth such as Trudeau, from lawyers, doctors, and whether representatives would be subject to immediate recall by their constituency.

The preamble to the constitution or other supplementary documents such as a Bill of Rights would declare how Canadians see themselves in relation to other peoples of the world and what they conceive as the aim and fundamental nature of the society they are building in Canada. It would have to declare whether it is tolerable to have private ownership of our natural resources, not to speak of ownership subject to the laws of another country,and whether it is acceptable in this day to leave the means of production in industry, upon which the employment and the physical well-being of the people depends, under private ownership and operation on the motive of profit.The question of religion and the state, of religious instruction in the schools and church ownership of revenue-producing properties, would have to be outlined. It would enunciate general principles that would determine whether Canada could continue membership in such military alliances as NORAD and NATO. In dealing with human rights it would have to decide whether barring of discrimination on the basis of sex should not also include sexual orientation and whether abortion should continue to be in the criminal code and should not be a simple matter of personal choice.

Following extended and free wheeling discussions involving the entire population a special subcommission could be struck off. Then, guided by the many submissions draw up a draft of a constitution and any necessary supplementary documents. These drafts could again be subject to popular criticism and amendment and adjustment. Then they could be declared a provisional constitution upon which elections would be held and a representative assembly formed which would adopt a constitution—and commence to legislate the country along its lines.

Through the processes of working out a new constitution a tremendous awakening and unleashing of all the creative forces that reside in her peoples, particularly in the highly educated and skilled working class, would take place. The foundations for completely reshaping Canada, with all its magnificent natural resources and vast productive plant, would be firmly and truly laid.

Advance the call for a constituent assembly across Anglophone Canada!

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Putting it to Quebecois

By Ross Dowson

Up front, the capitalist Liberal and Tory party spokesmen across the country, alas, with the NDP leadership tailing along behind, are debating with one another how best to cope with Quebec. The limit of the debate, exposing their bankrupcy of ideas and paralysis of will, is whether Quebec should be seduced from establishing sovereignty with amorous gestures and some cheap tokens of affection, or should it be by appeals to reason, over the heads of the Parti Quebecois leadership increasingly conceded to be beyond redemption.

How to return to the status quo after November 15, how to block the apparent determination of the Quebec nation to exercise its elementary democratic right to self-determination by establishing Quebec sovereignty? That is the question plaguing the ruling class of Canada and the United States and their political henchmen.

But already, as if fully recognizing that any proferred concessions are now too little and too late, the acrid fumes of red baiting are being released, the squeeze and sabotage of the economy is on, and talk of armed violence is legitimatized, along with hints of a bloody civil war.

These threats are being spewed out not by the gutter press, by hooligan and quasi-fascist scum, nor are they leaked backroom boastings and musings of the more venal business interests. They are being uttered by the chief hirelings and the heads of the Canadian and US corporate elite themselves.

The latest appeal to reason was the address of A.J. de Grandpre, chairman of Bell (Canada). On behalf of his peers attending a Montreal Chamber of Commerce meeting, he declared that no head office of a national or international company could remain in Montreal if it was not permitted to use English as the principal language of work. Such a policy by a Quebec government, (one to which the PQ Quebec government is firmly committed) would demonstrate a lack of realism, he said, and would result in loss of thousands of the highest paid jobs, and that would have repercussions on hundreds of thousands of other jobs.

This blackmailing threat came at the same time as the heads of the country's largest bank, the Royal, announced the accomplished fact of the transfer of several key departments from their head office in Montreal to Toronto. This caused MP Serge Joyal, a possible candidate in the Liberal party machine's desperate search for a Quebec party leader, to protest that this doesn't help those who are trying to inject some "reasonableness" into the Quebec business community.

Quebec Premier Lévesque patiently listens to former Trudeau cabinet minister parachuted into Quebec government.

Only a matter of days earlier, all five of the giant US corporations who own all Quebec asbestos resources through which they control over 40% of the world's supply, announced their decision to clamp the lid down on all plans for future development. Less than 3% of the asbestos, which continues to be mined under conditions that are extremely hazardous to the health of the workers, is processed in Quebec. PQ leaders have estimated that if a jump of only 20% of production were to be processed in Quebec, some 7,000 jobs would be created. This decision by US imperialist interests to sabotage a key sector of Quebec economy followed up Premier Levesque's reference in his New York speech to possible nationalization of the asbestos industry as an ultimate solution.

These arrogant threats and blows to the Quebec economy and the living standards of the Quebecois have roused only a token protest from Canada's prime minister. This is understandable—for in reality they supplement Trudeau's orchestrated attempt to defeat the national aspirations of the Quebecois by

been making his own unique contribution which feeds on them. Two of his recent press conferences, instead of denouncing or ignoring them, Trudeau accepted and addressed himself to questions of the most provocative character.

Since he had not hesitated to use the War Measures Act in 1970, why not use military force to keep Quebec in confederation, he was asked. The PQ was of course democratically elected into office and is pledged to hold a referendum on separation. Nonetheless Trudeau inferred otherwise in his reply, that the only way in which "we could use military force to prevent separation" is if those taking a province out of confederation did it "without (what he will choose to consider) popular democratic consent."

Earlier Trudeau turned the same question aside, but only in an eliptical way. Canadians, he said, "shouldn't count on me to keep Quebec by the force of arms if Quebec overwhelmingly decides it doesn't want to be a country in Canada." But he continued "I don't say there wouldn't be others who would not want to take up arms, and hence the danger is not one that I am minimizing".

Federal Tory leader Joe Clark, while he doubted that force of arms would work "if force of argument won't", nonetheless said on January 19 that a Progressive Conservative

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government would not "absolutely, categorically" rule out force.

Later, possibly to bolster the hopes of some of his Quebec henchmen that an anti-Liberal alliance with PQers could be formed in the coming Quebec by-elections, and to clear his party of any possible taint of separatism by expressing the firm conviction that there was not any possibility at all of Quebec's separation, Clark stated that if he were prime minister he would not use the armed forces to stop Quebec from leaving Canada.

At a February 10 press conference, discussing his coming visit to Washington and stressing the impact that Quebec separation, which he presented as breaking up Canada, would have on the world, Trudeau said that it would be naive to think that Washington is not concerned in case the split country became "a sphere of influence for various countries..." When asked if an independent Quebec would align itself with the bogeyman, the Communists, he shamelessly replied, "I have no idea what Quebec's foreign policy...would likely be".

In the first days following the PQ's election into office, the chief concern of the capitalist opposition was the socialist aura that hangs over the party. It was not so much the Levesque leadership circle, conceived as labour-reformist on the Swedish model, but the influence of the unions and the Marxist orientation of many of the party's activists. This concern was surpassed by a far greater concern about the hardening independentist line of the leadership, particularly following Levesque's declaration in New York that independence is "inevitable" and "irreversible" and the enthusiastic response this evoked throughout Quebec.

The massive campaign that is now being waged against the independentist aspirations of the Quebecois is designed above all to frighten them, to weaken their nerve and to embolden the opposition. However it appears to be having just the opposite effect. The assault on French language rights can only add to their ranks and harden their determination to win sovereignty. It can only strengthen their nationalism with a more profound anti-capitalist and socialist content and push the leadership, regardless of their hesitations, to the left. In an aside, as an assurance to an enquirer while in New York, Levesque stated that his leadership had succeeded in defeating a party stand that would place Bell under public ownership. Now Bell itself is whipping up a whirlwind.

Various commentators have noted with anxiety that there has been little across-Canada response to the classic bourgeois nationalist appeals about the unity of the Canadian nation, that their efforts to whip up hostility against the Quebecois are meeting widespread indifference. This obvious Big Business inspired assault on Quebec promises an opposite result, of rousing expressions of indignation and class solidarity from the workers of Anglophone Canada.

It is difficult to claim that any one card is responsible for the collapse of a house of cards, even when that card is Quebec, which is a nation, and the house is Canada. All the more when one of the chief components that has given Canada a certain unity in recent years is opposition to US imperialism which heads the pack against Quebec.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

Along with his widely publicized defence of violence in hockey--"a good punch in the mouth never hurt anybody"--Toronto Maple Leaf owner and president Harold Ballard had a few words to say on Canada-US relations.

"Let's Canada and the US annex.. ..We'd have a pact and be in one game...Let's say there wouldn't be any of this International Hockey. It'd be National Hockey. I say that's the way it should be ...Let's get it over with."

●

Things are so tough that it looks like it is just possible that Massey Ferguson Limited might end up having to put a few of its 7,600 Canadian employees into some of the top posts in its Canadian operations.

According to William Mountfield, president of Massey Ferguson Industries, the principal Canadian operating subsidiary of US-owned Massey Ferguson Limited, the latter is having difficulty servicing its Canadian operation. He told a Canadian Senate committee on Canadian -US relations that it takes about 25% more pay to lure employees fron the US home office into moving up to Canada.

You might think that this 25% pay differential would encourage the US bosses to give Canadian personnel a break in the Canadian operations. However Mountfield's litany of complaints about higher food, textile, car and mortgage costs, from which transfered US employees seek protection, seem only designed to emphasize that corporation taxes in the US are lower than in Canada and that the Senate should press for the rectification of this situation. The investment tax credit deductible against corporate taxes in Canada is only 5%, he said. It is to expire in June and he told the Senate committee that it should be made competitive with the US rate of 10%.

●

A warning that Canadian "conduct not deteriorate to levels previously expected only of the Third World," appeared in the report prepared by the International Economic Studies Institute, an offshoot of the International Economic Policy Association in Washington. According to a **Toronto Star** interview with one of the economists who helped write the minerals report, "we're saying Canadian economic nationalism is understandable to a degree, but that if some current trends continue there will be trouble financing new development of Canadian resources."

This warning to a predominantly white population of an advanced capitalist economy which is a dependency of US imperialism, that it not take the militant opposition path of the colonized peoples of the world, was echoed in the report of the British North American Committee. It protested that "recent actions by the Saskatchewan government and the basic regime under which new resource exploitation and development can proceed there and in Manitoba are much more akin to those of the Third World."

Saskatchewan Attorney-General Roy Romanow scored the report, compiled by this group of Canadian, US and British business, agriculture and labor brass, as "a lot of hot air," reflecting only their corporate biases.

●

Remember back in 1975 when Ottawa was confronted with widespread popular indignation over US--branch plants here in Canada turning down orders from Cuba and laying off workers? The various companies involved pleaded that they were only complying with the law —a law passed by US legislators called the Trading with the Enemy Act. Forced to admit that this was a blatant violation of Canadian sovereignty, Ottawa pushed through amendments to the Combines Investigation Act. The amendments made it a crime with penalties of up to two years in prison for any company or person to obey a foreign law that would harm either the domestic or foreign trade of Canada.

Now, two years later, from evidence given the US House of Representatives, almost all Canadian trade with Cuba continues to be carried on only with Washington's approval. Washington reports suggest the figure between Oct./75 and July/76 alone was nearly $132 million. But according to an Ottawa correspondent of the **Globe and Mail**, Corporate Affairs Minister Abbot "doesn't want the director of combines investigation to go on a fishing expedition to determine if there is any evidence."

Under US Government pressure, the Toronto-based travel agency Unitours, Canada, admits it has agreed to cease booking US citizens who wish to holiday in Cuba via Canada.

●

The US No. 2 diplomat in Canada, R.W. Duemling, explained to an Ottawa audience what lies behind what he described as "a growing resenting in the US to developments (in Canada) perceived as Anti-American."

"We sometimes take a proprietary interest towards you and will tolerate from others what we won't tolerate from you because we care about you. I realize that is a difficult form of compliment."

In reponse to a question about a decision on Canada's part to withdraw from NORAD, he said this would be viewed as "extraordinarily grave."

●

The editors of Bay Street's **Financial Post** are now expressing concern about developing pressure from various governmental heads to remove even the pitiful restrictions that Ottawa has erected against foreign, largely US, takeovers of the Canadian economy.

Cabinet minister Chrétien assured a Chicago businessmen's luncheon before Christmas that contrary to the carefully fostered public belief, Foreign Investment Review Agency regulations are not at all designed to slow down, let alone block, US takeovers but are designed "to maximize the benefits arising from the activity of foreign-controlled enterprises' in Canada." Some Atlantic province premiers, plagued by massive unemployment, have told Ottawa that FIRA is holding back needed development in their areas and want the message to foreign investors to be an unmistakeable "We want you."

The **Financial Post** editors, after duly noting that "Canada was set up more than 100 years ago to be an independent nation and that it's difficult to be truly independent when several of our major industries (and typically the more important ones) are controlled abroad"--and that "many industrially successful countries have stricter rules than ours," urge that Ottawa retain its "moderate rules."

The maintenance of the present rules, according to their reasoning "lessons the chance that foreign ownership will become such a big political issue that really stiff and irrational restrictions ultimately will be imposed."

Nonetheless, according to the staff of the **Financial Post** and the editors of the **Toronto Star,** Industry Minister Chrétien and his staff have prepared for cabinet approval a series of what Chrétien calls "housekeeping" changes but which the editors of the **Star** say are "more like unlocking the vault containing what's left of the family treasure."

They would even remove from scrutiny all but the largest real estate deals. They would speed up procedure for foreign takeovers of firms with assets of less than $2 million, which account for 58% of all transactions reviewed so far by the agency, and which are one of the few areas of Canadian commerce still predominantly under Canadian business control.

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04_01-1a

How to decide Cdn future

Patch up Confederation or a new constitution?

By the Editors

The coming Quebec referendum on independence casts its shadow over all political life in Canada. Can this country, without Quebec continue to long survive the ever growing pressure of US imperialism? Is it possible to forget the electoral victory of the Parti Quebecois on November 15 last? Can we pretend that it never happened and that an emotional appeal to "Canadianism" will take us back to the status quo ante?

The answers to the last two questions are "No." If, for some unforeseen reason, the present or future leadership of the PQ were to give up the struggle for independence, a new Quebec leadership would take it up. The fight for an independent Quebec has been going on for over 200 years.

Some workers fear that their desire and need for unity with Quebec workers will be hurt by an independent Quebec. These fears are groundless. Unity between the anglophone and the francophone working class can only be achieved if they can meet on a basis of equality.

Statements by Prime Minister Trudeau that Quebec's national aspirations can be achieved within confederation will not fool the Québécois. In confederation they would remain an oppressed minority. Only in an independent Quebec can they be a majority. Then they would be able to control such areas of government vital to their survival as language, education, communications, immigration, etc.

Even if they were to receive some benefits from the now vaguely offered "accommodations" and Canada was to become a decentralized federation, they could not achieve their objectives as a nation. Furthermore, such changes in the constitution of Canada would leave it as ten weak units. It would be an easy prey for ever increasing US domination. So Trudeau's solution of finding "accommodations" within confederation is no solution either for Quebec or the rest of Canada.

The answer to our first question, "Can this country without Quebec continue to survive?" is now imperative. It is the most important issue we face and anyone who hopes to have anything to say in Canadian politics must now answer it. The answer can not be a simple yes or no.

Firstly, a patch-up job on the British North America Act will not work. The B.N.A. act was foisted on the people to maintain Canada as a colony of Britain. Among its other purposes was the financial salvation of the railway bond holders and the permanent suppression of French-Canadians.

What is needed is a new constitution, a federal constitution for an anglophone Canada. This new constitution would recognize a new Quebec state and the special relationship it will have with Canada. In the discussion that must precede the adoption of this constitution, as far as relations with Quebec are concerned, a good starting point would be the proposals put forward by the Parti Québécois in its program. But the bankrupt politicians in Ottawa, devoid of ideas, can not be trusted to draw up the new constitution that anglophone Canada now needs. What is called for now is a constituent assembly which would have as its sole task the drafting, within the time limit of not more than two years, of a new made in Canada constitution.

Within the framework of the constituent assembly, workers could fight for an end to the appointed Senate, to connections with the British monarchy and all other vestiges of British colonialism. They would fight for a complete bill of civil, sexual and social rights; including guarantees of employment, job safety, decent retirement and an end to discrimination against women. They would fight for an end to the colonial status of the Native people within Canada. They

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Discussion opening up on constituent assembly idea

The concept that a new constitution is necessary—with some kind of popular involvement in its framing, up to and including a constituent assembly—is grabbing hold.

It has even surfaced in the federalist status-quo-or-bust Liberal party machine through the initiatives of a group of Quebec MP's, and has been taken up by Earle McLaughlin, chairman and president of the powerful Royal Bank of Canada.

McLaughlin told the Canadian Club that Canada needs a new constitution, that it is not sufficient to "plaster over the cracks," and that it can no longer be the "plaything of practicing politicians." For him, such a matter cannot be left to the masses. He thinks that a select group of distinguished Canadians should draft it on Ottawa's behalf and for its approval.

Liberal MP Bernard Loiselle, on behalf of a group of harassed Quebec colleagues, made a proposal along the same lines at the recent Toronto Liberal policy conference. He would place the task in the hands of MP's drawn from the four major parties, senators, and nominees of provincial governments. Gordon Gibson, a former Trudeau aide and leader of the BC Liberals, posed a more far-reaching concept...an elected, non-partisan assembly to draw up the constitution with results being "put to the country in a sort of referendum."

In a signed editorial Canadian Forum **has come out for "the creation of a popularly elected constituent assembly charged solely with the task of writing a constitution...requiring some formal means of popular confirmation of its proposals to establish the legitimacy of its draft constitution..."**

"This initiative would leave the federal government, for the remainder of its term, with housekeeping duties not touching the essentials of constitutional change. [That government is clearly not capable of anything more.]"

The Forum **editors see it not as reconstituting Anglophone Canada but as encompassing the Lévesque Quebec government which has already declared its course as irreversibly on the path to separation.**

forward (26) Apr. 1977

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Constituent Assembly

Continued from page 1

would fight for an end to federal-provincial relations which strangle the development of the Maritime and the Western provinces. They would fight, in other words, for the leadership of all the oppressed in the country.

How should a constituent assembly be formed? We suggest that it be elected on a geographical basis as the present parliament is elected. It should also have direct representatives from the labor movement, the native peoples and other popular organizations. During the election and during the deliberations of the constituent assembly, the present government would carry on as caretakers of the day to day affairs of Canada.

We believe that this call for a constituent assembly is the first positive step that must be taken to insure the survival of Canada without Quebec's participation in its present form. It is the answer to the question—where is Canada going?

Can the demand for a constituent assembly be realized in a concrete way? Yes, if it is picked up by the labor movement and its political arm the NDP and other popular movements. The question of time is important. This is undoubtedly one of the most serious crises to ever face this country. Action is called for now!

PM seeks US backing

A few short weeks ago, Prime Minister Trudeau went cap in hand to the fountainhead of world capitalist reaction—Washington, D.C. Trudeau went there to seek support from the new US President Jimmy Carter. Support against the independence fight of the Quebecois. He needed that support desperately, as day by day it appeared the Parti Quebecois was gaining strength. He got that support.

At welcoming ceremonies at the White House, he assured his host that, "our continental neighborliness will continue to flourish", and Carter replied, "we share the resources of a continent." Once again, Trudeau underlinded that he and the Liberal Party are willing, yes, even anxious to continue the sell-out of Canada tó US imperialism. Deeds always speak louder than words and we have only to examine the record of the Foreign Investment Review Board, set up under the act of the same name (FIRA), to clearly see that Trudeau remains a dedicated continentalist. In this he is faithful to his predecessor L. B. Pearson.

Although the Canadian media played up the visit as a great event, only about 30 percent of the members of both houses of Congress came out to hear the first Canadian ever to address such an assembly. Trudeau assured them that Canada would not be fractured, that some accommodations would be made to satisfy the people of Quebec. But he revealed his real feelings about the right of self determination of the Québécois when he said that separation would be "a crime against humanity." Trudeau was cheered by the members of one of the most reactionary legislatures in the world. It is a legislature that does not number in its ranks one socialist nor one representative of labor.

The reaction of the sycophant Canadian capitalist press was ecstatic. Joe Who, the Tory leader, vowed that it was a good speech but he could have done better. Ed Broadbent, federal leader of the NDP, at first praised the speech but later had to draw back and say that he did not agree that the separation of Quebec could be classified as "a crime against humanity."

After the speech, Trudeau assured Carter that Canada would be most helpful in cooperating in the fulfillment of whatever decision Carter would make this Fall on the question of getting Alaska and Mackenzie Delta natural gas to the American market. Carter then came through for Trudeau. In at least two interviews he stated that he favored a status quo federalism in Canada. Of course he said he did not want to interfere in a question that was really up to the Canadian people to decide. Picked up by the media, it came across loud and clear that the US favored federalism. That it was going to interfere was later emphasized when the US ambassador to Canada, Enders, began to make similar statements, in Canada, supporting federalism.

Various military commentators in the US pointed out that an independent Quebec would possibly cut into Canada's contributions to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Northern Air Defence (NORAD). It is well known that the Parti Quebecois is opposed to NATO and NORAD and a big military budget. They are opposed to military alliances and are for a position of neutrality similar to the position of Sweden.

After his return to Canada, Trudeau's minister of national defence announced the payment of the first instalment on the visit to Carter. Barney Danson said Canada would be looking for bids on fighter aircraft to completely re-equip the RCAF. These bids would mostly come from US companies and cost somewhere between 2 to 3 billion dollars. This is on top of $1 billion for patrol aircraft and a big order for German-designed "Tiger" tanks.

Carter's support for status quo federalism may eventually do Trudeau more harm than good. More and more Canadians are realizing that the US is the world's greatest reactionary force. Therefore advice from that source is looked upon with some suspicion, in fact, in many cases, with the attitude that if those who rule the United States are for it—it cannot be any good for Canada.

How can Trudeau have the effrontery to claim that he is for a strong federalist Canada and at the same time invite Carter to interfere openly in strictly Canadian affairs? For he certainly did exactly that when he compared the gravity of the problem of Quebec separation for the US with the Cuban missile crisis.

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04_01

Jobless can leave country, living too high , flips Pierre

By Paul Kane

"...if you don't like it here....then find another country....people who live in the free market system have to take the risks that go along with it," said Prime Minister Trudeau, this month, to a rally of university student supporters gravely concerned about their present and future job possibilities. The swelling ranks of the unemployed, now well over the million mark, are the largest in the country's history.

The government is waging war, not against unemployment itself but against the unemployed, by ruthlessly paring back the number on unemployment insurance benefits.

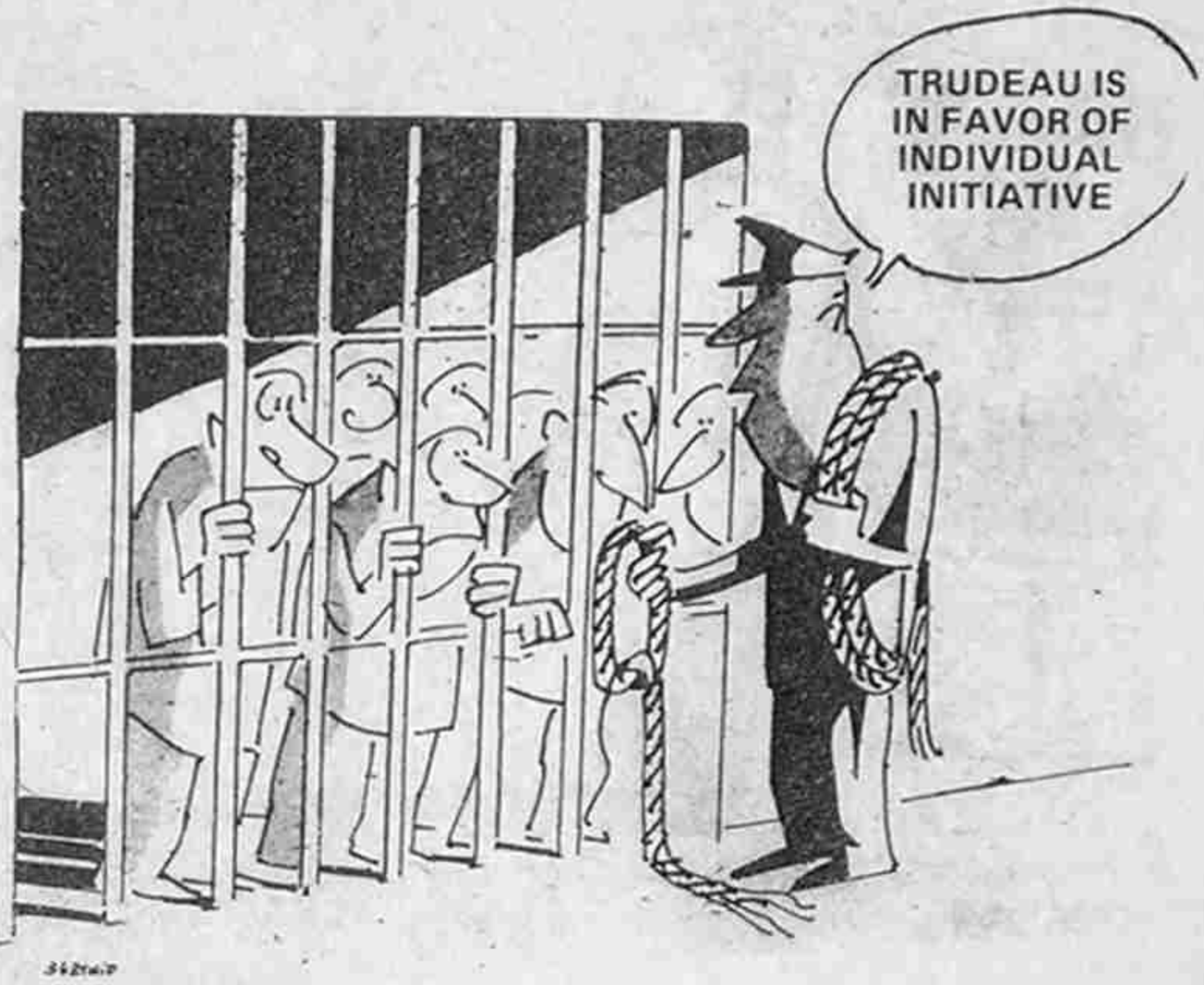
"My heart doesn't bleed for you in Toronto. Do you think the government should give you a blank cheque and guarantee you a job...the shortage of jobs...means that there are too many of you," continued Trudeau. In some areas of the country, there are no job possibilities whatsoever. What a consolation for Toronto and other parts of the country! Too many of us? Is the government considering handing out strychnine as a solution? And if you don't have a right to a job, tell us, just what do any other rights amount to?

"You Canadians are trying to live too high off the hog...the country will go down the drain unless there is more self-sacrifice and restraint," said Mr. Trudeau to another Toronto meeting. The million unemployed and their dependents, the elderly, the bottom 40% of the population with incomes of less than $9,666 who are getting today 2% less than they got back in 1965, are they living too high off the hog?

These are not just crude and insensitive declamations of a millionaire government leader out of touch with reality. It is Trudeau's New Society that his government ushered in with the wage controls in the Fall of 1975—working according to plan. We stated at that time the New Society was nothing but a concerted attack on the standard of living of the working people of Canada to give what Trudeau called "the free market system" admittedly "not working," a massive transfusion to break the stagflation that was afflicting it. The crisis of the capitalist system is to be solved by increasing the squeeze on its already suffering victims in the hope that its anarchistic workings will lurch forward again.

The cutbacks in education, in health care and social services, for which we will be paying for years to come, have cost tens of thousands their sole means of support, their jobs. The unemployment that is now plaguing the country is planned unemployment.

The leadership of the trade union movement and the New Democratic Party have projected a series of demands to help meet the situation—ranging all the way from shortening the work-week with no loss in pay, to a vast program of publicly financed and subsidized housing projects that will provide jobs and necessary living facilities. To stop and rollback the concious policy of the governement will require the fighting unity of the entire working class movement.



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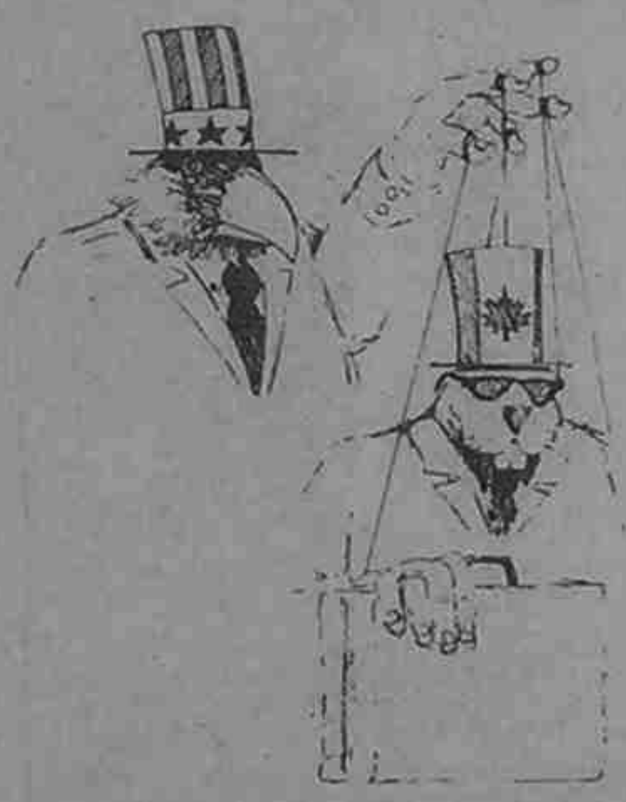
Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

On the eve of Trudeau's cap-in-hand appearance in Washington last month, US officials finally brought themselves to respond to a request from Ottawa on the Garrison water diversion project that had been made to them back way back in October.

The $566 million North Dakota project, now 20% finished after 10 years and construction costs of $120 million, threatens to pollute the Canadian Souris and Red River water systems which flow through southern Manitoba into Lake Winnipeg.



Nearly 200,000 of the 250,000 acres of US farmland to be irrigated by the Garrison project drain into these two rivers.

US President Carter committed himself to withholding an appropriation of $18.6 million for the Garrison project, along with appropriations for another 19 controversial water control projects.

While Carter's move was hailed far and wide by Trudeau rooters as signifying a new deal in Canada-US relations, the US Senate immediately, voted overwhelmingly to have him spend all the funds that had been appropriated for the projects. In a move that Carter must have anticipated, both Democrats and Republicans, shortly after he had explained his proposed cut-backs, dealt him his first legislative defeat.

Even as Carter announced his stand North Dakota Senate Minority leader Hoffner expressed his confidence "that no project as important as this one is going to be stopped." And whereas North Dakota Governor Link had earlier rated chances of convincing the US president's review board to continue Garrison funding at 50-50, on March 12 he said he how thinks that chances have improved.

Ottawa's October request signalled a drastic modification of its opposition to the Garrison project. It requested only that work on one section, the Lonetree resevoir dam be halted. It asked for a moratorium on construction to allow the International Joint Commission (IJC) to further study the matter.

An IJC study report of January said that the project could cause $3 million damage to Lake Winnipeg fisheries—it would allow valueless fish along with fish diseases and parasites into the system which some authorities claim could ruin the Manitoba fishing industry. The IJC report also estimated that it could cost municipalities anything from $60,000 to $2 million each year to filter out pollutants from the North Dakota runoff. The study estimated that it would cost $60 million to modify the project to overcome these dangers to Canada.

At the IJC public hearings held in Winnipeg on March 10, the representative from the government's External Affairs Department dissociated Ottawa from the position of the Manitoba government. The NDP government, with the support of both the Liberal and Tory provincial leaderships, which are under considerable popular pressure, has demanded that no water from the diversion project should be allowed to run off into the Red and Souris river systems. Manitoba Environmental Minister Sidney Green said that his government wants the Souris and Red rivers deleted entirely from the Garrison project. He pointed out that the North Dakota government had said in 1974 that neither would be included in it and that the US federal government had said at the same time that the project would not affect waters flowing into Canada.

Manitoba Opposition leader Sterling Lyon told the IJC that the $60 million worth of changes were unacceptable because they could not guarantee that there would be no environmental damage in Canada. He ridiculed any idea that one could "even catalogue the impacts the project would have, let alone assign a dollar value to them", declaring that "it is meaningless to talk of contingency funds no matter how large, to provide continuing compensation for apprehended and unapprehended consequential damages."

Ottawa said that it is not demanding the prevention of any runoff but only that it is not prepared to accept any substantial injurious pollution. Its spokesman denounced claims that the Boundary Waters Treaty which says "there must not be any degradation of boundary waters." is involved.

So far the Canadian government has remained silent on another project infringing on Canadian sovereignty—the Dickey-Lincoln dam in Maine. This $463 million project on the St. John River would flood 88,000 acres when the reservoir is full. Some of the flooded acreage will actually be in Quebec itself.

There is little doubt, unless some powerful popular actions are taken against Ottawa's line of accommodations to the U.S. State Department, that the Garrison project, with all its known and feared costs to the Canadian people, will be underway again. There are obviously forces available for action.

In his column in the March 7 issue of the mass circulation "Canada's news magazine", **Maclean's** editor Walter Stewart comments on the phenomenon of nationalism in Canada today.

"There have been some stirrings of Canadian nationalism over the past decade. We did raise a fuss about the domination of Canadian universities by US professors; we have established the Foreign Investment Review Act to provide minimal protection against the wholesale swallowing of our industries; we have even moved to protect some aspects of Canadian culture with Canadian content regulations in radio and TV, and the removal of tax loopholes for American magazines masquerading as Canadian ones."

All these moves, directed of necessity against US imperialism have been tokenist and hence completely ineffectual. As Stewart notes they "have been timid and accompanied by fierce resistance within our own country"—from the Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business who have been compelled to put something on the books. Stewart's column vividly contrasts the supernationalism of Washington's spokesmen "who complain about recent piecemeal and tentative Canadian attempts to assert national identity."

As the record shows the chief opponents of nationalism in Canada are the continentalist Canadian national bourgeoisie themselves, in their subservience to US corporate power. Washington is opposed to Quebec nationalism because it endangers its smoothly operating federalist deals, and also to Canadian nationalism—both have an anti-US imperialist thrust and open up new possibilities for social change.

04-0152-4

ON THE LINE

Ends controls

The Blakeney government of Saskatchewan has promised to lift on September 30 the wage controls that it imposed on its public employees under Trudeau's pressure. The PQ government has already lifted the controls that the Bourassa Liberal government before it had imposed on the same sector of Quebec workers.

Finance Minister Smishek sandwiched this promise into the government's other projections in his budget speech of March 10. He gave no explanation of why the government is continuing the controls past their expiry date of March 31, when Premier Blakeney himself, under the pressure of the CLC leadership, said that he would like to see them end in April.

While the NDP government has resisted every effort of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor to cause it to cease lending its authority to the wage freeze, Smishek was so cynical as to demagogically urge the federal government to dismantle the controls on March 31 with the words: "Prolonging the program will enlarge the inequities and distortions caused by controls without any assurance that price levels will be lower in the long run."

Strike on safety

Some 400 miners shut down the giant Iron Ore Company operation at Labrador City for two solid weeks in late February. Their ranks remained firm despite a court injunction ordering them back and in the face of government provocatively flying in an additional 16 RCMPers to bring the number of police in the community to 50. The strikers, members of Local 5795, United Steelworkers of America, demanded increased safety measures on the job following the deaths of three of their number over a recent nine day period.

The pickets were withdrawn when the company agreed to discuss safety issues and Newfoundland's Manpower Minister Rosseau, the member for the area, was brought in to mediate the dispute. The Newfoundland government has struck off a commission which, along with investigating safety conditions, will look into this giant US corporation's decision to contract out certain jobs and the impact this will have on the employment of Newfoundlanders—suffering the worst unemployment in the country.

The union wants a full-time government mines inspector at the site, a full-time union safety committee, and the right of union members to refuse to work on grounds of safety.

Hassle on safety

Last December, the Ontario Tory government passed an interim act, Bill 139, on employees' health and safety which was proclaimed as recognizing the right of employees to refuse unsafe work. International Nickel bosses in Sudbury interpret the law to mean that if one worker refuses the job another can be pressured into doing it—the first worker can be placed on unpaid leave of absence. Ontario Labor Minister Dr. Bette Stephenson has rejected the union's declaration that this is nothing but a process of intimidation, and that the job should be declared unsafe until engineers and inspectors can evaluate the situation. She does so on the pseudo-democratic principle of each individual's "right to exercise his own judgement."

Milrod's racism

The mass firing of 30 assembly line workers at Milrod Metal Products Ltd. was the equivalent of an "old line public lynching...and an almost sure-fire guarantee that the dismissals for the employees from a very visible minority culture constitutes an act of industrial capital punishment," wrote union spokesman P. J. O'Keeffe in his minority report to an Ontario Labor Relations Board. O'Keeffe's report was released along with the majority findings on March 3.

The majority, in its ruling against the workers, was faced with such a raw and blatant case of racism and union—busting that it had to admit that last October's firings were a "high-handed and indiscriminate exercise of management's disciplinary authority." It ruled against the union on the strictly formal grounds that the mass firings did not constitute an illegal lockout as the union claimed.

O'Keeffe showed in 15 pages of detail that the general manager and other officers of the company, which is a subsidiary of the US giant conglomerate International Telephone and Telegraph, operate the plant along military lines encouraging racism and continuously demonstrating utter contempt for the workers.

Rahim Siraj, who is president of the International Association of Machinists local, says that the next step could be an appeal to the Ontario Supreme Court—as arbitration could take more than two years to conclude. The case is already before the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The local will be voting on decertification on March 21. Siraj says that they did not get any assistance from the Machinists and are now hoping to bring in the United Auto Workers.

Revolt in NB

The top brass or appointees of the US-based United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America signed a contract last month with Fraser Company of Edmunston, New Brunswick—without bothering to consult the 200 woodworker members. This not uncommon practice—the contracts governing many such locals are between "international" leaders and the bosses, just as the local's assets are the international's—got what is an increasingly common response.

The Edmunston membership not only rejected the contract, but decided to re-apply to the government Board for decertification of the Carpenters. A similar application last November was turned down by the government. The membership have declared their intention to join the Canadian Paperworkers Union and have it renegotiate the contract.

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04_01

RCMP: our political thoughtcontrol cops

By Ken Napier

A series of recent events have served to highlight and remind Canadians of the sinister role and anti-democratic nature of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police:

—revelations of over 4,000 doors being busted open and items of mail opened in 1976 by RCMP agents given writs of assistance;

—the right to invade the privacy of anyone's home or belongings without judicial control before that right is exercised; Mr. Justice F.U. Collier of the Federal Court of Canada recently denounced the continued practice of issuing such writs, when practically no information about their use is ever given. Almost 500 cases of the abuse of such writs in 1976 alone were revealed recently by the RCMP;

—under the flimsiest of excuses (to verify identity), the finger printing of over 50,000 public servants last year, and the doubling of the number of security checks by RCMP officers of civil servants over the number made 10 years earlier;

—the illegal and widespread wiretapping of telephone lines of lawyers, anyone designated as a criminal "suspect", and break-ins into Bell Canada facilities by RCMP officers;

—the circulation of blacklists, like the Goyer blacklist, of civil servants who may have occasionally marched in anti-war demonstrations and who therefore are deemed now by the RCMP to constitute a "threat to national security" and who are therefore deemed to deserve closer 'watching," to use Solicitor-General Fox's word.

Though it undoubtedly boggles the mind, it is an established fact that the infamous Securities and Investigation department of the RCMP has officers trained in anti-subversion activities who are required to read the writing of Marx, Lenin and, according to their own spokesmen, Leon Trotsky, in order to be prepared to fight and keep a close watch on the red menace, at public expense.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, so frequently pictured in the romantic image of the crimson-uniformed Mountie astride his horse galloping off into the hinterlands of civilization to extend law and order, remains what it has always been: a sinister, undemocratic, anti-popular force, engaged in a vast array of information-gathering activities against politically, independent thinking persons, labor and trade union activists and those it deems threats to the national security.

Even the Canadian Bar Association on February 10th perceived what it called "a crisis of confidence" between the people of Canada and the Government of Canada because of the secrecy of government activities.

The Trudeau Government's latest attempt to meet this clamour of concern with proposed freedom of information legislation met a response of mockery as the actual wording of the legislation came to public attention. The NDP's Andrew Brewin denounced the personal privacy sections of the proposed legislation as being "so full of exemptions and exceptions that they render those provisions...worse than a worthless piece of paper.

"We regard that part of the bill as being a farce," Brewin told the House of Commons on behalf of the NDP. Brewin said that the grounds the Government can use to refuse opening up secret files to individuals amounted to "a blanket of secrecy." Citing a section which permits the government to deny access to a file if it contains legal opinions, Brewin mockingly asked "Since when have all legal opinions become sacrosanct?"

There can be no doubt that it is precisely because they operate in secrecy without the glare of public scrutiny or the leash of public controls that the RCMP has been able to function first and foremost as a political thought-control police agency, engaged in repressive conduct against all those it arbitrarily deems a threat to private property and the state.

The RCMP must be dismantled as an agency of political thought-control. Its hundreds of thousands of files must be turned over to those who have been maligned and discriminated against. Its numerous nefarious activities must be curtailed by freedom of information legislation that provides unambiguous access to all those who wish it.

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forward

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05_01[5]_1

Vote NDP on June 9 Ont. Labor to power

By The Editors

The Ontario election is on. Engineered by Tory hawks on the basis of some favorable polls that served their partisan advantage, it may well present the NDP with unprecedented opportunities.

The Liberals, unable to get their feet out of their mouths, are in disarray. As a pan-Canadian political machine of Big Business, they have been shaken to their roots by the PQ election victory. As an Ontario party humiliated by backstepping, the middle ground they have tried to occupy between the Tories and NDP has turned into a swamp.

A new actuality is sharply posed—the possibility of the NDP moving from opposition to power.

In anticipation, Premier Davis' roughriders are hurling all the invective of their class against the NDP. The Tories have not been swayed by the Premier's supposed high personal regard for Stephen Lewis. They have pulled out all the stops, raising up a storm of scares that the NDP would turn Ontario into an "industrial wasteland", that the NDP defence of unemployment insurance would create a "disincentive to work". NDPers, he complains are "missionaries...wanting to help the downtrodden".

In the name of stability, the Tories are calling for re-election as a majority government. Their re-election would open the doors to wholesale cutbacks in social services, hospitals and jobs. Although the existence of a large NDP opposition was able to slow down several swings of the axe over the last year, the Tory regime has been able to proceed as a virtual one-party government in all its major measures, due to the Liberal support of their "austerity drive". A Tory majority would give stability to the escalation of their grim-reaper social strategy.

The NDP enters the campaign with thousands of campaign workers, prepared to carry the educational work of the election with an all-out effort. The NDP is focussing on the massive spoliation and squandering of Ontario's potential through industrial disease, unemployment and virtual poisoning of our water supply. In all these cases, human need has taken a poor second place to the short-sighted and callous lust for profits. Companies dump their sewage into rivers and lakes, while the Workmen's Compensation Board treats injured workers as so much sewage to be disposed of just as cheaply. While the Tories accept 250,000 out of work as "full employment", and berate Unemployment Insurance (which workers have paid into) as "disincentive to work", the corporations get off scot-free with waivers on their already minimal tax load, waivers that could finance the public projects that could put Ontario back to work.

Unlike the parties of Big Business, the NDP has always relied on the work of its members and supporters in the campaign. There are no corporations to finance a media campaign. There is no host of professional political managers who feed at the troughs of old-line parties' corporate donations. Even Stephen Lewis' attempts to shortcut the problems of building a rooted movement by wooing the mass media with his soft, "moderate" image will not bring favorable or even fair reporting.

With the NDP as incumbent official opposition poised for power, NDP rank-and-file activists and militants have more than their usual tasks. They must overcome the image cultivated by Lewis and his coterie of advisors who have consciously softpedalled the class basis of the NDP, subordinating it to the etiquette of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition.

In so doing, they have cut across the grain of the party and its representatives. Ed Ziemba received widespread support in the party when he violated a parliamentary sub-committee's undemocratic secrecy and made public the outlines of the true story behind soaring costs and mismangement in OHIP. For this, Ed Ziemba was roundly denounced by none other than Stephen Lewis. Enamored with the drive toward respectability, the party leadership were prepared to solicit funding from Big Business interests, until a halt was called by the party's Provincial Council. The disease has become infectious in the leadership, as they now pander to all manner of prejudice against the Québécois and their struggle for independence.

In fighting for an NDP government in the decisive month ahead, it is the NDP militants who will ensure that the party is invigorated and renewed with a fighting spirit and program.

FOR AN NDP GOVERNMENT!
VOTE NDP!

forward (27) May 1977

CLC head fiddles with bosses as unemployment issue burns

by P. Kent

What does Canadian Labor Congress President Joe Morris hope to achieve on behalf of labor in the closed tripartite meetings with top government and corporate heads, and in the closed bilateral meetings with the corporate heads? Last month's tripartite meeting broke up with Finance Minister Macdonald affirming that the wage controls will not be lifted before October 14. The bilateral meeting a few days later ended with a platitude by the chairman of BC Forest Products that there had been "several meetings of the mind."

A meeting this month which appears to have had the still unpublished green paper before it has come and gone. According to a leak to the press, the meeting came to an agreement—to establish a committee to see if a permanent committee could be set up as a monitoring agency for the period when controls are lifted.

The finance minister, after urging corporate representatives to resist all temptation to shell-out higher wages than the AIB rollbacks allowed, suggested that the wage freeze might be lifted earlier, if Morris would give guarantees that there would not be a round of catch-up demands after they were lifted. Needless to say, Morris gave no such guarantees. He couldn't. And those who went through the motions of asking for them knew that he could not do so. Otherwise Morris has been silent.

Naturally, Morris did not project the far-reaching demands in Labor's Manifesto. They were premised on the success of smashing the wage controls.Besides they would have blown up the meetings. Perhaps Morris hoped, with the bogging down of Phase III of labor's strategy to smash the controls and the complications that the massive unemployment has added to getting it underway again, that he himself might come out of these meetings with the appearance of having been instrumental in convincing the government to do what they are now obviously preparing to do—in their own time. If so, he hoped in vain—for the government and business cabal has given him nothing.

The truth is that boss governments and business, whose interests are irreconcilably opposed to those of labor, have never given labor anything except what they have had to give, due to labor's independent strength and mobilized power. That is not to say that Morris has given nothing.

Morris would better use his time and his authority to mobilize CLC forces to fight the unemployment that is cutting labor's strength and starting to undermine long established gains.

forward (27) May 1977

05_0157

Committee proposes constitutional assembly

As the constitutional crisis deepens in Canada, a number of prominent voices have begun to put forward the idea of a constitutent assembly. The declaration of the Committee for a New Constitution, reprinted below, deserves the attention of the entire Canadian public. We reprint it in its entirety as an informational service to our readers
—The Editors

Since November 15, this country has entered into a period of intense discussion about the relationship between Quebec and English-speaking Canada. But there is one critically important position that has not been clearly articulated, and for that reason we speak out.

We believe that English-speaking Canada exists as a viable national community. We have faith in its will to survive as an independent nation regardless of the choice that the people of Quebec may make about their future. We do not believe that Canada without Quebec must break up into weak fragments to be inevitably absorbed into the United States.

During the extended period in which Quebec is coming to a decision about its constitutional future, we believe that it is essential for English-speaking Canada also to debate the principles of its continuing life—while maintaining public communication with the people and government of Quebec. We believe that English-speaking Canada should not, during this period, simply react to Quebec initiatives. Rather, we should as Canadians discuss our national priorities and the critical question of whether the aspirations of both our English- and French-speaking communities can best be satisfied by sharing a common citizenship in a single country. We should be working to devise a new constitution which recognizes the strength of our regionalism and diversity. We should be confident that we as English-speaking Canadians can come to terms with ourselves, recognizing that in the process we may create new possibilities for a creative relationship with Quebec.

The nationalist movement in Quebec, and its growing independentist component, is not a shallow or passing phenomenon, but a committed and tenacious movement which merits the respect of other Canadians. It has deep historic roots and will not fade away.

The Parti Québécois states its intentions to achieve independence for Quebec and a new association with the rest of Canada. This program has not been ratified by the majority of the Quebec electorate. But we are

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Cttee for a New Constitution seeks popular assembly for a new Canada

Continued from page 1

prepared to accept the democratic verdict of that electorate when it is rendered.

We believe that there exists within both English-speaking Canada and Quebec sufficient attachment to each other to constitute a basis for open-ended constitutional discussion by all Canadians. Even if Quebec were to choose independence, new arrangements with Canada are envisaged. We, for our part, must be prepared to contemplate new arrangements with Quebec whether or not it chooses to separate. There must be good faith on both sides.

Prime Minister Trudeau told the United States Congress that new accommodations must be attempted with Quebec. We say the same thing here in Canada. Wide-ranging public discussion involving Canadians from all walks of life is urgently needed. Otherwise, we risk the prospect that the fate of this country will be decided by posturing before elite audiences in New York and Washington. As Canadians we surely can do better than that.

We believe, then, in the need to initiate a dialogue on a new constitution for Canada. That dialogue should take place within the context of the following principles:

1) The right of Quebec to choose its own constitutional future by free and democratic means. Among the several options open to it are: continued membership in the Canadian federation, membership in a modified Canadian federation, independence and a new association with Canada, or independence.

2) The parallel right of English-speaking Canada to define its priorities, determine its constitutional features, and protect its own legitimate interests.

3) The obligation of both communities to conduct negotiations with one another in a spirit of good will aimed at mutual accord.

In the event that Quebec remains part of Canada, we believe that there should be a devolution of powers to Quebec appropriate to its aspirations as a nation. We do not believe that the constitutional arrangements with Quebec need necessarily be the same as those with the other provinces.

Regardless of what Quebec chooses to do, those new constitutional arrangements should be worked out to meet the legitimate grievances of the Western and Atlantic provinces, while holding for the federal authority the power to deal with matters relevant to national survival and development. The new constitution should allow for negotiated changes in provincial boundaries, such as the union of the Maritime provinces, if they so desire, or the creation of a distinct province in Northern Ontario.

In the event that Quebec chooses independence with association, the rest of Canada should be in a position to propose terms of association. These should provide for shared jurisdiction over central banking and currency, a common tariff, a common commercial and foreign investment policy, and commonly accepted principles of human rights. There should be free movement of persons and goods between the two states.

Regardless of the final constitutional outcome in any other respect, minority linguistic and cultural rights should be respected in both English-speaking Canada and Quebec.

Canada's native people have begun to reassert their identity and to claim recognition of their collective rights, especially relating to lands in the northern areas of the country. We welcome these assertions and believe that the new constitution for Canada must provide for the reasonable satisfaction of these claims. The Dene and Inuit claims, in particular, could lead to the establishment of two autonomous native territories with the appropriate institutions of self-government, taking into fair account the rights of established non-native communities in these territories. The new constitution should also recognize the legitimacy of dealing with any further aboriginal claims to land and political rights that may arise by negotiation.

Unless action is taken to initiate constitutional discussion on terms such as these we fear that the present uneasy situation may degenerate into deadlock and a potentially tragic outcome. Constitutional change cannot simply await the result of a federal general election or the Quebec referendum on independence without extensive prior discussion at many levels.

We propose that the most serious consideration be given to the creation of a constitutional commission appointed jointly by the Parliament of Canada (on provincial nomination) and by the National Assembly of Quebec, made up equally of members chosen from English-speaking Canada and Quebec. This commission should hear and study the suggestions of all Canadians who wish to participate, whether presented individually or collectively. It should explore various opinions and evaluate a variety of new arrangements, including possible changes in the constitutions of the central government. It should report within one year but its report should not be binding on either constituency.

We further suggest that consideration be given to the creation of a popularly elected constituent assembly charged with drafting a new constitution. Preparations for this Assembly could be made while the constitutional commission is doing its work. The report of the constitutional commission would form the initial basis of discussion in this constituent assembly. The constituent assembly would draft a constitution, including provision for the terms of association with Quebec (in the event that Quebec should so opt), which would then be submitted to public ratification.

We believe that the political crisis in this country has reached the point where such dramatic steps are necessary. We believe that after more than a century of experience with our present constitution the time has come for a fundamental revision. By this means, both English-speaking Canada and Quebec would be offered an historic opportunity to renew themselves and, should both so wish, to create a new alliance that could strengthen the ability of both communities to survive on the northern half of this continent.

We invite your support.

The Committee for a New Constitution.

Among the signatories:

June Callwood, writer and broadcaster, Toronto; Stephen Clarkson, Professor of Political Economy, Toronto; Danny Drache, Associate Professor of Political Science, Toronto; George Erasmus, President, Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories, Yellowknife; Dave Godfrey, writer and editor, Toronto; George Grant, Professor of Religious Studies, Hamilton; John Harney, Professor of English, Picton; Karl Jaffary, lawyer, Toronto; Bruce Kidd, Associate Professor of Physical Education, Toronto; Margaret Laurence, writer, Lakefield; George Martell, teacher, Toronto; Norman Penner, Professor of Political Science, Toronto; Robert Page, Associate Professor of History, Peterborough; John Richards, Edmonton; Abraham Rotstein, Professor of Political Economy, Toronto; Rick Salutin, writer, Toronto; Peter Russell, Professor of Political Economy, Toronto; Denis Smith, editor, Toronto; Melville Watkins, Professor of Political Economy, Toronto.

forward (27) May 1977

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Let the people decide!

by the Editors

Prime Minister Trudeau has made it clear whom he considers to be Canada's friends and Canada's enemies.

On the democratically elected Parti Québécois government: "They are not friends of Canada and shouldn't expect to be treated in a friendly manner."

As for the US government—the powerhouse of world imperialism and the representative authority of the giant monopolies which own and control most of Canada's resources, branch plant industries, and culture—our Prime Minister treats it as a friend of Canada, a big brother. After all, didn't he suppliantly journey to its Congress to preach Confederation and national unity against Québécois independentism?

To the continentalist quisling of Trudeau's ilk, representing the Canadian ruling class, Canadian unity and patriotism are code words' for an all-out attack against a powerful, democratic, anti-imperialist, nationalist movement of the Québécois. This movement with a mass base rooted in the cultural and social aspirations of a Québécois nation long oppressed and humiliated by English-speaking capital has now asserted itself as a force against the US corporate control of the economy with its English-language bias and its imperious hold on all the key sectors of the economy.

The Québécois have reshaped their historical course. They have revived their culture into a dynamic French literary, musical, and artistic renaissance, and stand as an inspiration to the rest of Canada.

Trudeau's Confederation, and the whole history of Confederation, is nothing more than a legacy of foreign dependence: first on conservative colonialism of British banking imperialism, then on the philistine pragmatism of US monopoly imperialism. And isn't it the Trudeau government's Foreign Investment Review Act that has expedited the takeover of the Canadian economy by the US corporations? Didn't the giant oil companies reap additional immense profits, at the expense of Canadian working people, when the federal government and various provincial governments representing big business interests—Tory, Liberal, and Social Credit alike—legislated high gas and oil prices and special tax and royalty concessions?

And then these same "patriotic" federalists decided that economic austerity required cutbacks in medical and scientific research in Canada, cutbacks in hospital facilities, cutbacks in the schools, and holding the line on university faculty hiring. Thus, it has come to pass that expensively trained Canadian scientific researchers, academics, nurses, and teachers are joining the unemployment rolls of laid-off construction workers, auto workers, etc., all suffering from the effects of the economic crisis largely imported from the US.

When a University of Toronto student audience questioned the Prime Minister about this bleak situation, he shrugged and cynically told them if they couldn't find jobs here they could go to another country. In other words, they can go to the corporate head offices and Canadian brain-drain job-colonies in the US. And that is what Trudeau's "patriotic" appeal amounts to: support for a national policy of mounting joblessness, economic sellout, and cutbacks and more cutbacks in the social service sectors while the corporate monopolies defer their billions of dollars in unpaid taxes year after grim year.

The nationalist movement in Quebec knows where it is going. The talk of Quebec "separation" evades the question of where English Canada going. Fortunately, the newly formed Committee for a New Constitution, whose declaration we reprint in this issue of *Forward*, appears as a genuine voice for Canadian national aspirations.

Rejecting the hysteria of the hypocritical Canadian unity chorus, it begins with the principle of respect for Québécois national rights, including the right to secede, and appeals to English-speaking Canadians to work towards the reshaping of Canada as an independent country serving the interests of its people regardless of Quebec's future course.

It envisions the construction of a new constitution based on the convening of a broadly representative Constituent Assembly and a national referendum to decide Canada's future, a position that *Forward* has been advocating in the last few issues. Such a profoundly democratic enterprise will undoubtedly have a deep effect on the political life of this country. For the fist time, the working people and oppressed layers, not to mention the powerless middle classes of society, will be able to decide on all those things which were hitherto consigned to the elites in Parliament and the foreign-owned corporations.

The Committee, in their statement, prefigures the new Canada—not one of a prison-house of peoples which oppresses the Québécois and the native peoples, but one that enshrines national rights through a free and voluntary association. That this statement is signed by prominent Canadian nationalists, NDPers, and a militant defender of native rights like George Erasmus is tribute to its progressive character.

We urge all those in the labor movement, the NDP, and the various arenas of social concern to support and circulate this statement.

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Analyzing the roots of Canada's evolution

Constitutional crisis pu

by Ross Dowson

The cry of Unity is echoing across the country. A flood of pronouncements issuing out of the offices of Ottawa's mandarins and from Prime Minister Trudeau himself (the Privy Council has set up a special unit, and the appointment of a Commissioner-General for National Unity is being considered) are being spread wholesale by the mass media.

Save Canada—but from what or whom? Unity—but with whom and for what? The demagogy torn aside, what we are being asked to do is rally to the maintenance of the status quo; an admission that, for very good reason, it is falling down all around us. We are being asked to rally in resolute ranks behind the constitution, the BNA Act, glossed up as a sacred pact of the people agreed upon by the Founding Fathers only 110 years ago. Or that we should go along with those who, adopting a more reasonable approach, would consider modifying the BNA Act in some respect, possibly easing off some its centralizing aspects or by making other adjustments, but only all the more to hold onto its very essence.

Getting more to the point, it means blocking the Québécois from establishing their national sovereignty! Cool the heat from the Native Peoples' demands for recognition of their nationhood and lands being coveted by the ecologically reckless, plundering lumber and oil moguls, and the pressures mounting from the widespread dissatisfaction with unemployment, the wage freeze, social service cutbacks, etc.

On the other hand, however, there are a growing number who consider that the time is ripe to face the facts and open a full wide-ranging discussion on every aspect of the Canadian condition and to advance towards taking all the necessary actions that would prepare a new constitution—one that would lay the basis for a Canada that could meet the challenges of the day.

There is much at stake. This is the most crucial debate in Canada's history. We are in a struggle over the minds of the people. Will they be won to support the forces for social change, or will they be led to support or at least accept what the ruling class assess is possible to get away with in the preservation of its interests?

Success for those who cover themselves with appeals to Canadian Unity and the sacredness of the constitution can only lead to the violation of the rights of the Quebec nation, of the powers of the Quebec National Assembly and its PQ majority, to frustrate a yes vote in the referendum on Quebec sovereignty and independence. Even an insane military-police assault against the people of Quebec is not absolutely excluded.

Photomontage by Gordon Hatt

JOHN A. MACDONALD, FATHER OF CONFEDERATION:
"I admit I took the money and bribed the electors with it. Is there anything wrong about that?"

Quebecois and Native Peoples' struggles

For there should be no mistake. The November 15 PQ electoral victory was no fluke, but signalled a qualitative leap in the 200-year-long struggle for Quebec equality. A rapidly growing majority are convinced that equality can only be realized by independence. Their struggle has proved beyond all possible doubt to be an irrepressible one, making its resolution in independence, certainly in the long run, largely inevitable. No other force in Canadian society, no matter what its impact in the short run, can decide that—only the Québécois. Any repeat of the 1970 assault under the War Measures Act which was to shock Quebec into submission, would be even more counter-productive—resulting in a struggle that would tear Canada apart from coast to coast in civil war.

The fight of the Québécois to win national sovereignty over the second most highly developed sector of the Canadian economy has already raised its working class struggles to a high level of social consciousness and combativity, and will continue to pose challenges of a profoundly radical social character. The rise in anticipations of the Québécois have developed parallel to and have given added impulse to the struggles of the Native peoples, and in particular to the Dene Nation and the Inuit Taprisat. Together the Native peoples are laying claim to a collosal slab of territory which, with the developing world energy crisis, is becoming increasingly vital to the Canadian and, for that matter, US economy.

These two challenges alone have placed all previous concepts of Canada, the powers of its central government in Ottawa, provincial rights, and indeed the very foundations upon which Canada was declared, into question.

What is more, they have developed within the context of an even more general problem, which has no doubt also fuelled them—the continuing erosion of Canada itself as a sovereign nation into a dependency and a satellitic relationship to the United States colossus on its southern border. The key and commanding heights of the Canadian economy are now controlled by foreign—largely US imperialist interests.

As ex-Liberal leader Mel Hurtig recently expressed it, "In the eight years Pierre Trudeau has been prime minister of this country, foreign ownership has grown by a greater amount than during the entire first century of Confederation." This has resulted in an outflow of dividends, interest payments and repayments on foreign investments that have skyrocketted the financial cost of production, as distinct from labor costs, from less than 3% in 1972 to 31.1% in 1975. Today Canada's external debt is greater in relation to its gross nation-

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Canada in question

al product than crisis-wracked Britain's.

The federal government's policy to meet the grave decline in the economy through its projected New Society, has resulted in planned disemployment of over a million workers, the largest in its history. And in the hope of stimulating the economy Ottawa is removing the largely tokenist restrictions that it had earlier imposed on foreign investment and is clearing the way for the development of the environmentally dangerous Mackenzie Valley pipeline whose multi-billion-dollar cost will further the US domination of the Canadian economy and lock it into the US economy and its rulers' aims on the world political arena.

This undermining of Canadian national sovereignty has heightened longstanding regionalism which, with the rise of the PQ, has thrown both the Liberal and Tory parties of big business into turmoil where neither can claim to be truly national parties.

The unity cries, the appeals to rally to the constitution, to the BNA Act, in reality only affirm that there is a crisis of major proportions and that the constitution which only in a distorted way reflected the relationship of contending forces in 1867, now bears less and less semblance to the relationship of forces in this country today. In reality the BNA Act, still lying in the dusty files of Westminster not far from the residence of the Queen of England who was by fiat designated Canada's head of state, is nothing but a piece of paper.

The real constitution of Canada is now being reconstituted by the federal government. In its efforts to preserve as much of the status quo as possible through its appeals to the sacredness of the BNA Act of 1867 it is attempting to establish as favorable a relationship of class forces as possible for the Big Business interests it represents.

It is notable that the appeals of those who defend the Canadian constitution are completely devoid of any sweeping and lofty idealism. Canda's constitution was not forged in the flames of popular struggles or revolution. No leaders called for the mobilization of the masses in militant protests, town meetings or organized guerilla actions, not to speak of a popular army, to end British colonialist domination. There was no Declaration of Independence or the Rights of Man. There were no Sam Adam's, Patrick Henry's or even George Washington's. The Canadian counterparts of those forces were bloodily crushed back in 1837 by the arms of the British Crown supported by the Chateau Clique and the Family Compact.

Far from being a pact between free Canadians the BNA Act was an act of law, passed not by a popular assembly here but by the imperial power of Great Britain. Confederation was a creation of the British imperial state in collusion with the heads of a colonial administration representing a nascent, dependent Canadian capitalist class. Accordingly, it aimed to block annexation to the United States. It was designed to secure British investments in the railways and open up the public treasury and cream off vast tracts of land for their expansion. It was designed to integrate the crown colonies in the West, to establish private ownership of the land which had been held in common by the Native peoples, and to open it up to the production of cheap grain to keep English millhands wages competitive on the world market. Land was needed on which to dump the surplus British working class population and to develop a market for goods manufactured in the East and overseas.

The Fathers of Confederation shared a hatred and a fear of democracy. While plans were in their preliminary stages, Canada's first Prime Minister John A. Macdonald wrote Premier Tilley of New Brunswick that it was "important that the Bill should not be finally settled until just before the meeting of the British parliament. The measure must be carried per saltum (in one leap) and no echo of it must reverberate through the British provinces till it becomes law.... The Act once passed beyond remedy, the people would soon learn to be reconciled to it."

For Georges-E. Cartier universal suffrage meant "mob rule" hence the Civil War in the US. "Our attempt," he wrote, "was for the purpose of forming a Federation with a view of perpetuating the monarchical element....In our Federation the monarchical principle would form the leading feature, while on the other side of the lines (the US)...the ruling power was the will of the mob, the rule of the populace."

The exclusion of the farmers and urban workers from the process was based on the recognition that its terms and conditions were in clear violation of their interests. Whereas, the Province of Canada two decades earlier had won an elective legislative council, the BNA Act imposed a non-elective Senate which Macdonald cynically cracked was to protect the interests of the rich—always a minority.

The New Brunswick electors voted down the Quebec resolutions. The PEI legislature voted no to confederation. The Newfoundland government when it finally moved to agreement was defeated at the polls. The vote in Quebec was held after the new constitution had been proclaimed and was in operation. It was supported by the powerful Catholic hierarchy with the admonition of the Bishop of Rimouski: "You will respect this new constitution that is given you as the expression of the supreme will of the legislator, of the legitimate authority, and consequently that of God Himself." Nonetheless the Quebec electorate returned 20 opposition members to 40 government supporters.

Federalism against self-determination

The federalist principle, conceded to Cartier by the English Canadian bourgeois who actually sought a unitary state, gave nothing to the concept of a bi-national state and naturally neither did such opponents of democracy concede anything to the right of self determination.

The French fact was recognized primarily by linguistic and confessional rights. In a letter to a friend Macdonald wrote that, "No man in his senses, can suppose that this country can, for a century to come, be governed by a totally unFrenchified government. If a Lower Canadian British desires to conquer he must 'stoop to conquer'."

Within a few years confederation was challenged both by the Indians and the Metis whose interests were completely ignored in the cynical real estate deal for the West with the Hudson's Bay Company. The republic that the Metis under Riel had set up was crushed—the language rights of the French in what subsequently became the Province of Manitoba brutally denied.

Founded on capitalist property relations, while respecting vested seigneurial rights, the new capitalist state was a semi-autonomous federation of colonial provinces under the patronage of the British capitalists. Having firmed up their interests and ridding themselves of the costs of maintaining their imperial forces, the British retained the powers of decision in foreign relations and peace and war. The colonialist connection dragged Canada behind British imperialist aggression against the Boers in South Africa. As a British dependency, over the opposition of Quebec, Canada went into World War I. While Britain lost its hegemony over Canada to the US, the essential satellitic character of its ruling class thrust Canada, in the face of Quebec opposition, into World War II.

Within Confederation, which sped the growth of capitalism and the power of the indigenous capitalist class, Canada evolved from a British colony, to a British dependency, to a dependency of the United States.

On the basis of the relationship of class forces prevailing in 1867, sanctified by the BNA Act, the Canadian capitalist class have since built up a complex network of repressive institutions. It ranges from the Privy Council, to the Supreme Court, to the Bar Association, from the armed forces to the RCMP, from the Canadian Manufacturers Association to the Boards of Trade, from the Rideau Club to the local Kiwanis. Along with their ownership of the means of production they constitute what can be called a system—the Canadian capitalist system.

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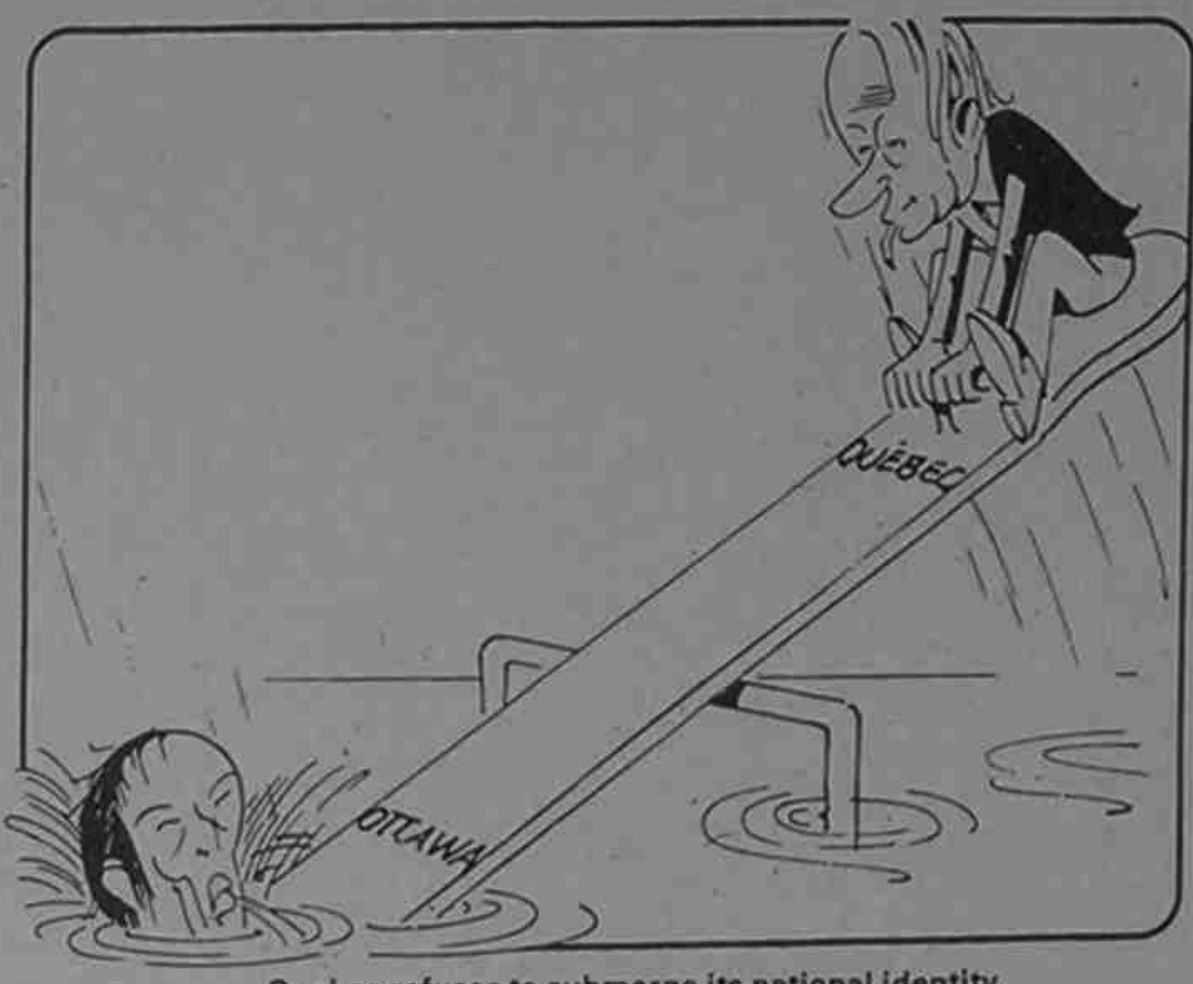
Rise of working class organizations

Parallel to that development, and capital's own special creation, rose the working class and its organizations. In a nascent stage of development at the time of Confederation, the working class movement has developed into the most massive and potentially most powerful formation in the country. This was demonstrated in the 1972 general strike of Quebec labor and the cross-Canada October 14 1976 Day of Protest. It has developed an increasing consciousness of its needs through the formation of the NDP as its political arm. Its aim, as expressed in Labor's Manifesto adopted at the 1976 CLC convention, calls for the wresting of "power from business and its government in the interests of labor" in order to institute "a system of national and economic planning." This is a key component of the new reality.

It is not excluded that with Trudeau and its other leading spokesmen, the system can succeed in mobilizing sufficient support, through a policy of confrontation linked to limited concessions, to slow down and even to temporarily divert the forces that seek a restructuring of Canada in harmony with its real needs and the present relationship of forces in the country. But the odds that have long favored the frustration of the mounting democratic process are less favorable than they have ever been before. In Quebec the forces of the status quo are in disarray and have been pushed back into a defensive position all down the line. The tide appears to be running, so that it is possible to visualize not only the realization of the central aim of the PQ—the establishment of national sovereignty—but fundamental changes in the system itself in Quebec. It is now widely understood, by even those who oppose separation, that it is the right of the Québécois to self-determination up to and including separation and that it is a violation of elementary democracy to deny it. Besides, the declared social aims of the PQ and the social reforms that it is implementing have won wide support across the country.

The demands of the Native movements have struck a broad support among the Canadian people who are increasingly concerned about ecological dangers and are for the planned and social utilization of the natural resources long said to be the property of the entire nation. Native land claims are not at all an infringement on their popular accessibility but are directed to their control against the well-known ravages that have been perpetrated by the robber barons and monopoly capitalists—from Reed Paper to Imperial Oil.

The rise of the Quebec and Native peoples struggle have opened the way for all the other broad and popular democratic forces to intervene and to help shape the country to the form they think necessary: The widespread opposition to US domination of the Canadian economy and its linkage to the global strategies of US imperialism, the broadening women's rights movement, the movements for freedom of sexual orientation and freedom of choice on childbearing, the prisoners' rights movements, and above all the trade union movement.

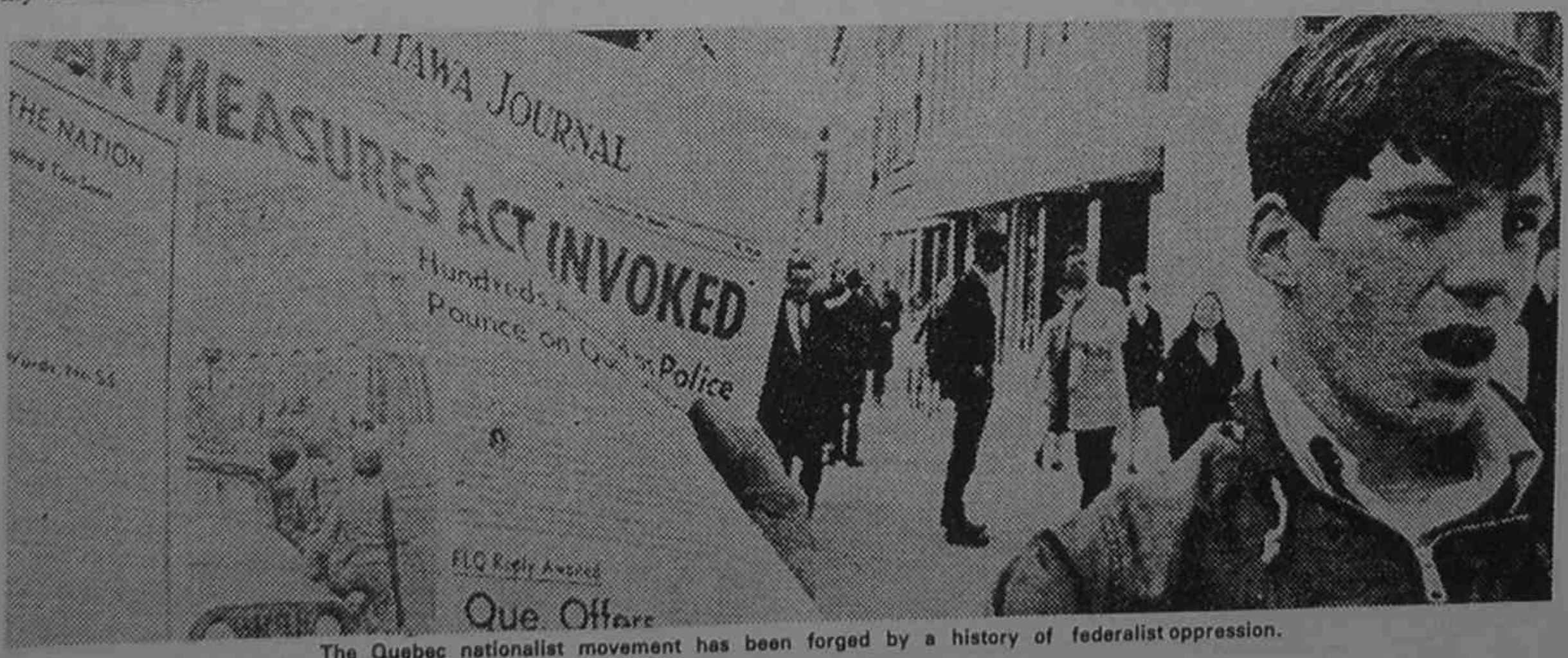


Quebec refuses to submerge its national identity.

It is now possible to move out on a massive scale to commence the building of a new Canada. The appeals for unity and to save Canada are designed to block this opportunity, at best to dribble out a few concessions which have as their purpose to preserve the undemocratic essence of the BNA Act and the entire superstructure that capitalism has built upon it.

The growing support for the call for a Constituent Assembly must take on massive proportions and the whole process for its realization must rapidly get underway.

The profoundly democratic demand for a Constituent Assembly must become a physical reality. It would provide a vast public forum, an arena for the exchange of all ideas about all the problems and possibilities confronting Canada. It would provide the basis for a concensus that would result in the drafting of a provisional constitution. And it would provide elections that would assure representation in a popular assembly of every and all viewpoints that would keep all options open for and advancing Canada.



The Quebec nationalist movement has been forged by a history of federalist oppression.

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Oh Canada

Erstwhile CBC-TV Ottawa correspondent, then Tory federal candidate then CBC Washington correspondent, Ron Collister, has returned to Canada.

He told the Ottawa Men's Canadian Club that "In the few years I've been away, the changes have shocked me. Not only the areas of separation, economic rot, linguistic bitterness. But also in the Canadian view of the United States. In some ways I feel that I am not returning home. I am landing on an unknown planet. I am appalled by the anti-Americanism, the paranoia, the senseless nationalism."

As Collister added his squeak to the US branch-plant managers' and Liberal-Tory chorus of attempts to make nationalism a dirty word in Canada, movie director Allan King made some interesting comments on the phenomenon in a column in the **Globe and Mail.**

"When I first found the label, (nationalist) hung on me," wrote King, "it gave me a twinge, no question. Sophomore memories of the word came trickling in from the back of my mind: vague associations of nationalism with the causes of the First World War: with Hitler, Mussolini and the rise of fascism; with forces inhibiting the growth of the international community....The assumptions were history turned upside down of course. Nationalism didn't cause the First World War. The war was the inevitable conflict of competing empires. Hitler was neither a nationalist nor socialist, but a fascist trying to reassert the German Empire....The problem is not nationalism, but imperialism and its aftermath...."

Naturally Collister links Canadian nationalism to what he calls "anti-Americanism". He thereby smears the popular opposition to the US imperialist domination of Canada, opposition to US capitalism and to its ruling class and State Department, as being hostile to the American people—unionists, white, black and chicano. He assured the Men's Canadian Club that Canada must be "built on the closest possible relations with the United States."—that is, capitalist United States, the power-house of world imperialist reaction.

●

The Ontario Royal Commission enquiring into Media Violence, headed by Judy LaMarsh, commissioned the retired former president of CJOH-TV in Ottawa, Stuart Griffiths, to make a submission. Parts of it have been leaked to the daily press before its release at the end of May.

Griffiths advocates the elimination of all private and independent television broadcasting and the construction of a publicly-owned Television Canada, headed by a policy council supported by a staff of 1,000. It would make available 200 hours of daily programming on 12 channels on cable to every home, each one concentrating on different matters of interest, news, light entertainment, serious entertainment, children's shows, etc. Those wanting US programs of their choice could still get the signals from the other side of the border.

LaMarsh has hailed Griffiths' proposals as "the first goddam idea anybody has heard in 20 years. Canadians should know," she says, "that there are other models available besides the American one....I believe we have a national will to seek out our own reflection in our own media. We're the only country in the world that has completely imported the cultural system of another country and I think there's more reason to fear because of that than there is because of the situation in Quebec. In Quebec they have the will to resist that, and I think there may be the same kind of will in the rest of the country."

●

By outlining a speech that Trudeau did not make before the US Congress, Editor Robert Fulford in his column in the April issue of **Saturday Night** blasts the speech that the prime minister did make.

Among the things that Fulford scores Trudeau for not telling his Washington audience is that: "the Canadian troubles....are the product of a wrenching social revolution that shook Quebec only sixteen or seventeen years ago and transformed a whole people and its aspirations.... He could have provided just a hint of the historic bitterness that pervades all its culture: the poetry, the novels, the films, even the songs and jokes."

Trudeau could have pointed out, writes Fulford, that "many English-Canadians feel, with justice, that they live in the shadow of the US and believe it to be improper that an enormous part of their economy and their culture is in American hands," but, "he told them exactly what they wanted to hear....Don't worry, he told them in effect. Everything will be alright up in Canada, just like always. But it isn't, and it won't necessarily be."

Fulford tried to link Trudeau's speech to Levesque's speech to the Economic Club in New York with the comment: "is it necessary also that our politicians go there to fight our elections," and portraying Canadians as seeing themselves in the bush league yearning to see their heroes make it in the big time—"Levesque's flop on Broadway and Trudeau's hit performance in Washington." However, Fulford is completely missing the point.

Levesque did not tell the US investment heads exactly what they wanted to hear. Having gone through the pretence of celebrating the bicentennial of the great American Revolutionary War of Independence, Levesque confronted them with the challenge of Quebec independence, which he declared to be inevitable and irreversible. Instead of assurances of support that Trudeau won from Carter and his Washington cabal, Levesque's appeal for continued credit in the den of lions of finance roused confusion and consternation in their circles (Fulford's flop), and no doubt the admiration of the Quebecois to whom Levesque was also addressing himself.

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ON THE LINE

by Paul Kent

Starvation pensions

Three pensioned workers from the giant US-owned Inco operation in Sudbury appeared at the company's annual meeting in Toronto on April 21, 1977.

Tom Hannaway took the floor for five minutes to compare his and other workers' pensions to that of Inco chairman Edward Gribb, whose retirement was announced to the shareholders.

Hannaway, who retired in 1973 after working for 30 years in the Inco milling plant on a pension with disability supplement for heart disease, gets a total of $365 a month. In order to support his wife and two daughters, he stated that he has to sell lottery tickets on the side "to try to make ends meet." Chairman E. Grubb, retiring after 43 years with Inco, will be getting his yearly service pension of $127,000 a year—about $10,500 a month.

Noting the fact that corporations such as Inco see that their officials are paid comparably to officials in other corporations, Hannaway stated that it "illustrates the immoral way in which hourly-rated employees are ignored in their requests for adjustment to compensate for inflation. We helped build this corporation into the giant it is today and now we are being ignored. We are desperate and need assistance now...."

The audience of 500 shareholders politely applauded, and Grubb stated that he did not think Inco or any other company could afford to index pensions to the cost of living as requested....but the pensions would be reviewed, he said.

Steel ranks resist

Retiring President I. W. Abel of the United Steelworkers reported on April 9 that the new contract with the big steel bosses was adopted by a two to one majority roll call vote of local union presidents.

The first ballot, rejecting the contract offer by a four vote margin, was a sharp repudiation of the Abel leadership. The opposition was led by Ed Sadlowski who headed up the Steelworkers Fight Back slate in the recent elections for the international executive board. Abel won acceptance by warning that rejection would place all unresolved issues in arbitration, under their no-strike agreement.

The Sadlowski slate, following the February 8 elections, filed a challenge to the entire election. On March 21 they announced the publication of a monthly newspaper—**The Voice of Steelworkers Fight Back**—to further their fight for a militant rank and file controlled union. They are asking supporters to send in $10 for a subscription to Steelworkers Fight Back, 9271 South Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill., 60617.

Not just Steelworkers who participated in the Sadlowski campaign but rank and file union militants will find such a paper useful in the struggle.

Schreyer betrayal

Premier Schreyer of the Manitoba NDP government has announced that the wage controls that it imposed on its public employees to supplement Trudeau's federal controls will end sometime in August-September—if Ottawa has not already scrapped them.

Schreyer scandalized the entire labor movement and gravely undermined its all-out attempts to smash the union-busting controls almost two years ago when he stated his agreement with the controls in principle. NDP federal leader Broadbent publicly denounced Manitoba's stand. His promise of removal went almost completely unnoticed in the March 23 **Saskatchewan Commonwealth** which reported that it was made before the NDP provincial council almost a month earlier, on February 27.

Index pensions!

The Public Service Alliance of Canada is responding to a high-powered campaign by the so-called National Citizens' Coalition against pensions indexed against inflation, with a series of ads in the daily press. One of the devices used by the Coalition to makes its case that inflation-proof pensions will bankrupt the country is to take a higher than average pension, assume a high rate of inflation, project what it would be in 15 years, and then employ the trick of presenting the amount not in terms of the goods that it would buy but in terms of dollars, present day dollars, that 15 years hence at the rate of inflation would be worth a fraction of their present value in real goods and services.

One of the PSAC ads notes that federal public service employees have paid $1.98 billion into their 53,927 retirees were receiving pensions, in reality their own deferred wages, that averaged $5,486 per year. The ad points out the need for such a modest pension to be indexed against inflation. Another ad urges that the federal government should take over all pensions in the country. Among the reasons: more than 40% change their employment, leave or enter the work force or are unemployed sometime each year; less than 40% contribute to private pension plans; few have portable pensions; few have any say how their pension plan is managed and even fewer are informed about its management.

QFL actions modest

Humiliated by the Cliche Commission's exposé of corruption in the top ranks of the building trades unions, and faced with widening dissatisfaction in the union rank and file, the leadership of the Quebec Federation of Labor has finally acted. Four affiliates had been placed under trusteeship by the former Liberal government. The executive of the building trades council, heading up 38 QFL affiliates, largely composed of petty bureaucrats and opportunists beholden to the venal US-based machine, had proven incapable of taking any action itself.

Early in April a special convention of the construction unions was held in Montreal, where, although boycotted by the plumbers union, it was agreed to reconstruct the council. Whereas the old council allocated 11 seats to union affiliates which could designate any union official they chose, the new executive council will be composed of 16 persons drawn from the business agents of the unions. It was also agreed that dues deductions allocated to the QFL, instead of being sent by the employers and channeled through the individual union offices, would henceforth go directly to the QFL.

These modest actions will do little to democratize the building trade unions but were probably agreed upon by the US brass to ease off the heat and forestall moves afoot in the direction of completely restructuring the Quebec union movement and consolidating it into one powerful centre controlled by the workers of Quebec.

Alcan gas pipeline: new Panama Canal

The NEB decision in favor of the Alcan gas pipeline route over the Mackenzie proposal is proving to be a pyrrhic victory for native rights, conservation and Canadian independence. The trade-off for Berger's scuttling of the Canadian Arctic Gas route is the pipeline route of its spawn, the Foothills consortium: through Alaska from Prudoe Bay, across the northeast corner of BC and across the southern Yukon, and south through Alberta to deliver U.S. Arctic gas.

Although the NEB stipulated that the Alcan route must allow for a possible, future connection to a Canadian gas pipeline along the Mackenzie Valley, no in-depth study has been made of the problems associated with this route. On the contrary, the federal government has instructed the Lysyk inquiry into a southern Yukon pipeline to accomplish the equivalent of Berger's three-year study in three months!

Trudeau's commitment to the U.S. state department's Sept. 1 deadline for a Canadian pipeline for their gas translates into heavy public pressure to bypass the Council of Yukon Indians' land claims. Thus, the continental vise is tightening around an energy corridor amounting to the Canadian version of the Panama Canal.

The June issue of **The Nutcracker**, the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship insert in the **Alberta Democrat**, warns: "...we now see many of those who wholeheartedly support Berger espousing the cause of the 'AlCan' pipeline... Included here are... the federal leader of the NDP, Ed Broadbent, and the Alberta leader, Grant Notley.

"Admittedly Notley does add a couple of provisos: one, that financing be entirely from U.S. sources and, the second, that the U.S. release Canada from a portion of its oil and gas export commitment...

"So, in the euphoria of the report, and with one major social, environmental and economic catastrophe avoided, people who should know better are opting for the lesser of two evils... Basically everything that Berger said about Mackenzie applies to AlCan."

"We cannot afford to be smug," the article concludes. "Socialists in Canada have yet to come to a proper understanding of world environmental problems in relation to economic and social conditions. Certainly the capitalist parties are grossly cynical.

"Unless we wish to be other than hypocritical, socialists have some real heartsearching decisions ahead of them."

forward (27) (28) – July 1977

07-015-2

Ont. NDP & public ownership

by the Editors

Stephen Lewis' dumping of the Ontario NDP program for public ownership of the natural resource industries during Ontario's recent election was an unparalleled retreat from progressive and socialist ideas. This part of the NDP program arose out of the Waffle's triumphant programmatic struggle under the banner "For an Independent and Socialist Canada." It was again adopted by NDP delegates at the last convention in recognition of the need for nationalization and a planned economy to serve the interests of Canadian working people. It was widely recognized by the party base—especially as a result of the nationalist sentiment permeating the radical and labor movement— that the resource sector in Canada represented a substantially foreign-owned, unplanned, polluting and exploitative industry, destroying the physical beauty of Ontario and Canada, threatening the long term economic security of future generations and literally killing workers in pursuit of profit. By adopting this resolution, the party base gave recognition to the principle of human need against the profit motive of the corporations in which all considerations— men's lives, conservation and economic control of Canada's resources by Canadians—were secondary to maximizing capital.

In Ontario as elsewhere in Canada, the nickel and copper mines, the forest industry, energy cartels and development companies associated with them have left hundreds of workers dead, crippled and dying because of substandard safety procedures. They have turned lakes once sparkling with fish and clear as the sky into brown pools of lifeless pollution. Sudbury, Elliot Lake—all the major towns of northern Ontario—to one extent or another are the casualties of the reckless destructiveness of this economic sector.

Yet these industries, so unconcerned about the quality of life they destroy, are very concerned about the quantity of their profits. Tax deferments, capital cost allowances, exploration bonuses, provincial relocation grants, subsidized research, low tax rates and a parade of tax lawyers' dodges have meant hundreds of millions of dollars of untaxed profits.

Why such favoritism—in tax policy and in enforcing regulations—to the resource industry?

The fact is that U.S. capital dominates a good part of the resource industry and U.S. capital gets treated "with respect" by the Canadian state.

Yet Lewis retreated from the challenge of explaining and motivating the adopted program of the New Democratic Party. He could have pointed out that a good part of Ontario's natural resources, energy in particular, was already under public ownership without the economic devastation that Tory leader Davis predicted. He could have pointed out that this industry was such a drain on government corrective spending and was the source of so many tax grants and funding subsidies that the government might as well take over its assets since it has practically assumed the industries' liabilities already.

He could have argued that companies which arrogantly ignore minimal safety standards and regulations thereby playing havoc with the lives of workers are an appropriate target for government expropriation. He could and should have argued that the people of Canada have a right to assert their ownership of the wealth of this country, the forests and lakes, the gold and iron and copper and other minerals in the earth in order to protect, preserve and advance their proper use when private capital fails to do so.

He could have solidarized the party with the national polls that indicated an absolute majority of Canadians in favor of public ownership of some energy resource industries—a fact substantiating the radical impetus in the nationalist drive for recovery of Canada's natural resources from the predatory grasp of U.S. corporations.

Yet Lewis did none of these. Through his opportunist cringing, he deserted socialism and compromised the party at the polls. Has the need for a socialist alternative to Lewis and his heirs-apparent ever been greater?

Expedite to 8½" (95%)

forward (27) (28) July 1977

07-01-57-3a

Trudeau leads federalist attack against Parti Québécois

The social dynamics of the Quebec nationalist movement

The following is the second installment of a three part article on the constitutional crisis now confronting Canada. The first, appearing in our May, 1977 issue, dealt with the BNA Act and Confederation. Copies can be obtained by writing to FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto.

by Ross Dowson

Confederation, the structuring of Canada into a single national state, imposed on its components of 1867 by the nascent indigenous capitalist class in collusion with British imperialist interests, contained, but it by no means eliminated several explosive elements.

The Fathers of Confederation anticipated that the conquered nations of Quebec and the Native Peoples (Indian, Métis and Inuit) would be constrained and ultimately assimilated in the case of the former, and in the case of the latter, driven to the outer edges of the community and destroyed as an effective force.

But 79 years after the British conquest, Lord Durham in his report following the brutal defeat of the 1837 revolutionary uprisings against the British yoke in both Lower and Upper Canada informed the British Foreign Office, "I expected to find a contest between a government and a people. Instead I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state."

Lord Durham expressed the anticipation of those who looked to the destruction of the French nation through the processes of assimilation, with the words: "...it will be acknowledged by everyone who has observed the progress of Anglo-Saxon colonization in America that sooner or later the English race is sure to predominate even numerically in Lower Canada (Québec) as they predominate already by their superior knowledge, energy and wealth. The error, therefore, to which the present contest must be attributed, is the vain endeavor to preserve a French Canadian nationality in the midst of Anglo-American colonies and states..."

Nonetheless the French-Canadian nationality has been more than preserved. Inflamed by the hanging of Riel and the destruction of the Métis Republic, the conscription of her youth for the foreign World Wars I and II, sustained for many years by conservative clerical forces, until, following the so-called Quiet Revolution of the sixties, in November 1976 it took the stage as the Parti Québécois in power in the Quebec National Assembly.

What is the PQ and what are the general configurations of the movement which it heads? Will the sovereign Quebec state which it projects be socialist as the editors of the *Globe and Mail* and *Financial Post* warn or will it be a xenophobic, racist, even fascist state as, others are so bold as to suggest? And with Quebec wrenched out, what is the future for anglophone Canada? Will it survive as a nation, or will the continuing process of economic integration with the U.S. result in its complete structural integration?

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, whom the noted historian Arthur Lower has described as "the country's sheet anchor" around whom "Like it or not all those who love their country must rally... (since) he represents the only adequate bridge between two people," has led the assault on the PQ and its declared aim of the establishment of a sovereign Quebec nation state.

In Saskatoon this spring he charged the PQ with being a fifth column, an insidious enemy within Canada which "wants to destroy this country" and urged that its representatives be barred from getting a hearing—"they are trying to con you," he warned.

At one of his weekly news conferences in June, Trudeau in effect rejected any discussions with Quebec government officials. As a precondition he said that "he wants to make sure that Mr. Lévesque... wants to remain in Confederation." And "I am not in favor of the thesis put forward that the premier of Quebec is speaking on behalf of a founding people."

In an early May interview with *Agence France Presse*, and in a speech at Laval University, he not only attacked the established criteria that define any nation, including Quebec as a nation. He ridiculed the very "idea that a nation must be sovereign." He flung the label of "ethnocentricity" on the policy of the PQ—a term which the widely syndicated Southam Press columnist Charles Lynch conceded is nothing but a "polite term for racism."

The common thread that runs through the arguments of nearly all those who have succumed to the high-powered campaign for Canadian national unity is the failure to recognize that the francophones of Quebec, the overwhelming majority of its population, are a nation, an oppressed nation within the Canadian state and by that fact have the elementary democratic right to self-determination, up to and including separation itself.

The term colony (a colony of Anglo-Canadian and U.S. capital) sometimes used to describe Quebec, and Canada itself, as a colony of the U.S., instead of clarifying only confuses the question. The economy of Quebec unlike the so-called underdeveloped world, the Third World, is not agrarian, but that of the advanced capitalist world, which, while suffering from elements of regional underdevelopment, is essentially the same as the rest of Canada. The central form of class antagonism is the conflict between capitalism, (Anglo-Canadian, U.S., and a dependent Quebec capitalism) and a highly urbanized, unionized and militant working class. Nationalism is not solely the credo of the tiny Quebec middle class but permeates the consciousness of the working class heightening its class unity and combativity. Lise Payette, the popular PQ minister of consumer affairs and financial institutions, attacked the business community last month with exercising "shameful blackmail" of the government, charging it with being people "without flag, without nationalism and without a sense

→ to p.2

Pravda echoes Trudeau

According to the Soviet Communist Party organ **Pravda,** the Parti Québécois, in its struggle for a sovereign Quebec, contrary to all the known facts, has the active support of "the multinational corporations of the West, first of all the U.S. monopolies.

In Commentator's Column, May 10 issue, **Pravda** stands foursquare against the PQ and behind Prime Minister Trudeau, who really does have the active support of U.S. President Carter and the U.S. State Department. **Pravda** echoes Trudeau's opposition to Quebec independence with the now familiar words that all Quebec's problems "should be solved within the Pan-Canadian framework."

The Canadian Communist Party, while recognizing for the record Quebec's right to self-determination, up to and including separation, has firmly committed itself to actively campaign against a yes vote in the projected referendum on Quebec independence. The editors of the **Canadian Tribune** explained in their April 18 issue, during the recent Quebec by-election campaigns, how the CP proposes to keep Quebec in a united Canada. "Canada can function for the fulfillment of both English-speaking and French Canadians," they wrote "with a House of Commons, as at present, plus a new chamber replacing the Senate and equally representative of the two nations."

Quebec CP President Sam Walsh, who contested Verdun with its near 40% anglophone and 60% francophone voters, polled 80 votes.

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of identity."

The state forms are of a bourgeois democratic character. While the struggle for an independent Quebec has been projected by some as posing a socialist revolution and even armed struggle, the PQ's winning an electoral majority in the Quebec Assembly gave the struggle for a sovereign Quebec a qualitative leap forward. The PQ government, accused by its federalist opposition of already acting as if it headed a sovereign state has been implementihg legislation such as Bill 1 on language that would appear to almost guarantee a "yes" vote for Quebec sovereignty in the coming referendum. It would appear that Quebec independence is going to be won in the cold way. While nothing is excluded, there is no longer talk about federal armed intervention against separation—it is apparent that any such adventure would tear apart the country from coast to coast in an irreconcilable civil war.

What has sustained the consciousness of the Québécois that they do indeed constitute a nation is largely their cultural oppression—the denial of their language rights, outside the borders of Quebec where they are being assimilated, but above all in Quebec where they constitute the majority.

Trudeau himself, in a recent speech in Winnipeg, presented facts which explain above all the alienation of the aspiring Québécois middle class professional. "The population of Quebec is more than 80% French speaking. Yet out of Quebec's 100 largest business firms, only four have five or more French-Canadian executives—and 43 of these firms do not have a single French Canadian in their senior ranks." He also noted that while francophones constitute 27% of the Canadian population they constitute less than 15% in the federal public service.

The parliamentary commission hearings that the PQ government has been holding on its proposed language Bill 1, an avidly followed public forum, recently heard Yvon Charbonneau, president of the French-speaking teachers' union—the Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec, present its 93-page brief.

Charbonneau explained the class character of the language question. "The alienation of the Québécois people, a people of wage earners in search of a fatherland, is first economic in nature: it derives from the position that its overwhelming majority occupies in the process of production: the bottom of the ladder." Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin enthusiastically responded that the PQ bill to francize the Quebec economy, to make French the language at the work place, is to get at the roots of "the economic alienation" of the Québécois.

The election of the PQ government was widely celebrated. While they subsequently recanted, almost the entire NDP leadership, along with union leaders such as McDermott of the UAW, hailed it. After all, the defeat of Bourassa constituted a body blow to the capitalist party *par excellence*, the Liberals—a blow from which their Quebec wing has yet to show the slightest sign of recovery. The response of the so-called revolutionary left—that nothing had changed—only revealed its own myopia. The PQ victory not only signified a new opening for the Québécois, which they readily understood, but also for anglophone Canadian politics.

Of course the PQ is neither a socialist nor a labor party. It is a petit-bourgeois party, its leadership largely composed of middle class professionals and technocrats with a background that is even more solidly respectable than any government in the country. While the editors of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* and the *Financial Post* label them socialist, neither the party's program nor its leadership, for all their promised reforms, present a consistent anti-capitalist perspective, although Lévesque has said the party is socialist on the Swedish model. It is the rupture that its meteoric growth and election into office has brought to Quebec society, the mass character of the party which makes it the most popularly rooted in the country, the high anticipation of its ranks reflected in the party's endorsation by the Quebec Federation of Labor, that open up such possibilities for social change in Quebec and the rest of the country.

The PQ is a nationalist party firmly committed to the establishment of an independent and sovereign Quebec. While the leadership is now in the process of opportunistically laying aside some of its social program and it is not excluded that some elements may capitulate to the high-powered opposition of federalism, as a party it is being persistently firmed up and evermore irrevocably committed to independence. With the formal establishment of Quebec sovereignty its popular, largely working class base, will be confronted with the challenge of what to do with that sovereignty, with the question of what kind of Quebec they wanted to build. While the PQ is not a labor party its rise has continued to pose the question of such a party which it would now seem certain can only come out of further experiences of the class with the PQ. Thus the PQ would appear to be a highly unstable and even transitional form in the continued radicalization of the Québécois.

The national aspirations of the Québécois, rooted in some 250 years of oppression, and which have given the working class struggles there a sharp cutting edge, have never been understood by the federalist-oriented reformist NDP and CLC leadership—particularly that wing that functions primarily as an extension of the U.S.-based so-called international unions. The rigidity of the CLC leadership, modified only at the 1974 Vancouver convention, left important sectors of the working class to unionize outside of its ranks and to realize unity of action only in the Common Fronts.

The struggles within the Quebec CCF to tune the party into the national aspirations of the Québécois led by Jean-Marie Bédard, Michel Chartrand and others were frustrated and defeated by the Ottawa leadership. This false policy of the CCF-NDP leadership has had the two-fold result of *one*; dooming the CCF-NDP to the existence of a tiny irrelevant sect which it remains to this day, and *two*; leaving the situation open so that such a formation as the PQ would arise to fill the gap.

This confusion in the anglophone working class movement is typified by the editorial that appears in the April issue of *True North*, a monthly sponsored by a wide range of union leaders in the Sudbury district. It declares that nationalism in Quebec represents only the interests of the middle class, "the injured egos of 2% of the population of Quebec." Echoing the witch-hunt charges that Trudeau has levelled at the CBC, "using both the French and English language media both in Quebec and the rest of Canada," this tiny middle class, according to Editor Carl Dow, actually "created the cultural conditions for the election of the PQ." This same 2%, while Quebec, under the union leadership, "stood on the threshhold of real social reform... seized an opportunity to subvert this genuine democratic social and economic development." Dow caps off his version of history as conspiracy with a warning about nationalism—including the nationalism of oppressed peoples—not to "forget the lessons of Hitler and his National Socialists, and the wormy workings of Mussolini, to say nothing of the right-wing nationalist governments of today in Africa and South America and Asia."

Grace McInnis, the daughter of CCF founder J.S. Woodsworth and NDP MP for nine years, lends herself to an interview in the series that the editors of the *Toronto Star* state quite frankly seek "opinions on how to persuade Quebec to remain in Confederation." She too concentrates her fire not on the perpetrators of national oppression but upon nationalism, which she warns "can be devastatingly dangerous. Where nationalism and socialism are found in one group of individuals," she says, "there will be a conflict and nationalism is always going to win." According to McInnis, separatism doesn't stem from the masses in Quebec but merely from feelings of insecurity in working people. The answer is "give people jobs..."

In this, McInnis merely follows the line of NDP leader Broadbent whose top priority is not to popularize the legitimate grievances of the Québécois and to defend the right of the Québécois nation to self-determination, but to keep the country together. Noting that "you find that fully 40% of Quebeckers under the age of 30 now are moving in a separatist direction" he has been appealing to the Trudeau government to initiate a job creation program aimed at young Québécois. With such a program by a government which has declared it has no solutions to the present economic crisis, according to advisor Broadbent "we'd win the battle, if you like, for the hearts and minds

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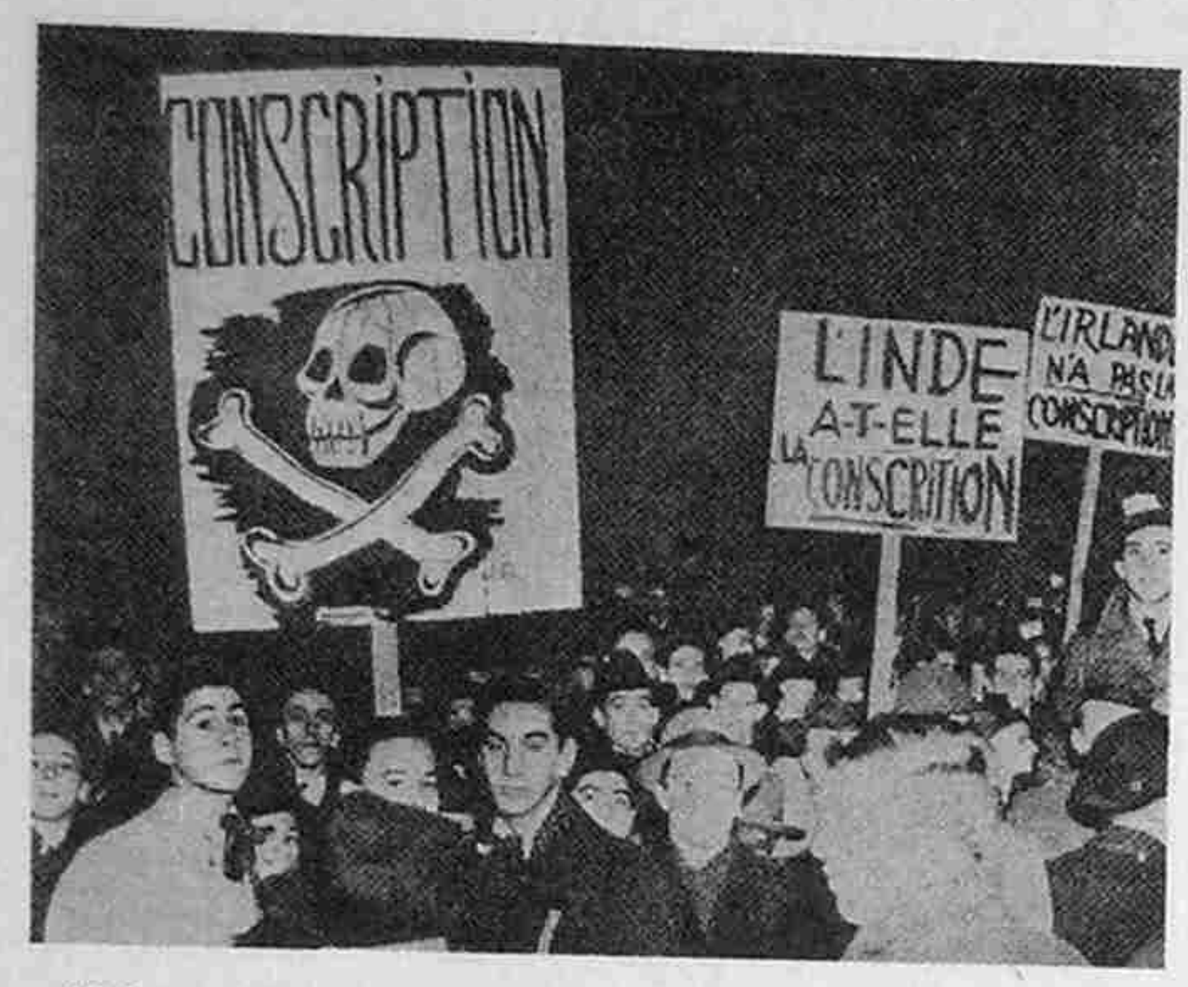

High point in the continuing struggle of the Québécois has been opposition involvement in foreign wars. This demonstration in Montreal in 1944 was in protest against conscription.

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While Quebec's course towards national sovereignty is proving ever more clearly, in the words of Lévesque, to be irreversible, and thus the question of what is to become of anglophone Canada is ever more on the order of the day, the central focus of Ottawa's pan-Canadian campaign remains Quebec. By concentrating it there Ottawa hopes to hold anglophone Canada together as a bloc of forces against Quebec. Besides the key decision is to be made in no place other than Quebec by none other than the Québécois.

Of course Trudeau is not addressing himself to the PQ and the growing forces for Quebec national sovereignty. He has declared irreconcilable war against them. Trudeau is trying to rally together and firm up every rag-tag and bob-tail of opposition to the PQ referendum in Quebec, to overcome the petty schisms between the Liberals, the Progressive Conservative, the Union Nationale and the Créditistes. He is out to consolidate whatever forces of opposition that he can scrape together, to polarize the opposition to a "yes" vote in the referendum on national sovereignty.

By so doing, of course, he polarizes the forces which favor a "yes" vote in the referendum. All the dynamics of the situation favor a "yes" vote. Should the vote register a defeat for independence it cannot be a final answer, for the Québécois' struggle is inevitable and irrepressible. And all the while the processes of disintegration continue to work away at the rest of Canada, continuing to pose the need for a constituent assembly to prepare a new constitution that will serve twentieth century Canada in a world that is in the process of fundamental change.

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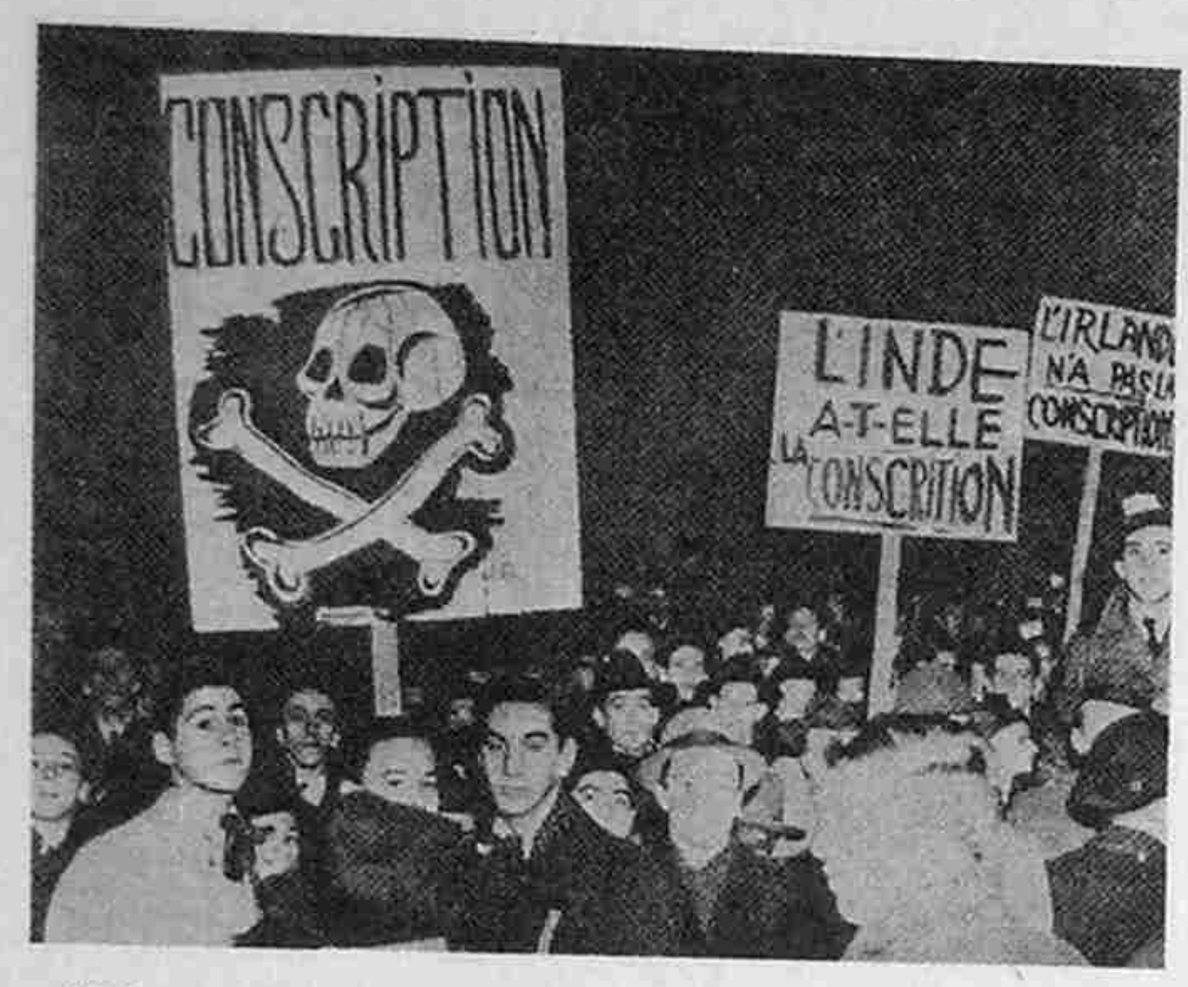

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07_01_24

Steel brass caught 'red'-handed

by P. Kent

Steel Labor, that is the Canadian edition, edited and shipped from across the border under the tutelage of the U.S. top brass, contains in its March issue a full page and a half interview by a Winston Gereluk with Doug Tottle of the Bell Foundry local in Winnipeg.

It is such a wide ranging article, which in its course includes comments such as the working class having "its historic goal and destiny 'as the grave digger of capitalism'", not exactly acceptable to the Canadian and even less the U.S. Steel brass, that its appearance in **Steel Labor** is a matter of wonderment. Then you see that it is primarily an attack on the Canadian Association of Industrial Mechanical and Allied Workers, whose Griffin local in Winnipeg is carrying on a militant struggle for its life, and which won the key Kitimat local from Steel.

The Canadian Steel brass have put themselves in the forefront of the fight against autonomy for Canadian unions in the so-called internationals, and since the CAIMAW is one of its expressions, it appears that the editors of **Steel Labor** are prepared to swallow almost anything to get such an attack, even one that gives it a pseudo internationalist left stance. The Steelworkers brass have become so arrogant that last December a Special CLC committee, struck off to unify the growing Canadian Chemical Workers with the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers and the declining International Chemical Workers, was compelled to censure them for having "moved in and raided Kodak from the ICWU and ignored the justification procedures provided for in the CLC Constitution."

Tottle, and his interviewer Winston Gereluk, get a lot of licks in against the most widely read journal in the Canadian left, **Canadian Dimension,** and its editor Cy Gonick—both in the article itself and also in **Steel Labor** editor's introductory comments. This was hard to understand coming from **Steel Labor**'s editor, but now very easy to understand from the point of view of one Winston Gereluk, after reading the editorial appearing in the current issue of **Canadian Dimension.**

It now appears that the article that is reproduced in **Steel Labor,** according to author Gereluk's original plan, was to have been slipped into the previous issue of **Canadian Dimension,** without any of the editorial board's knowledge. Gereluk, as recently appointed business manager with no editorial function whatsoever, had the article typeset and was prepared to substitute it for another article in the African issue without informing any of the editors. Gereluk's planned fait accompli was accidentally noticed and blocked at the last moment. According to **Canadian Dimension,** rather than discuss the article with the board, Mr. Gereluk resigned his position.

After the African issue came off the press **Dimension's** editors discovered that Gereluk had also made changes in line, with his particular political bias, in an article by contributor John Saul who is also an editor of **This Magazine**—without reference to the editor of the African issue, the editorial board, or the author, Saul.

Along with these interpolations an entire paragraph was left out. Saul restores it in the course of additional comments on Africa in the current issue. The left-out paragraph reads as follows:

"The whole question of the 'Southern Africa connection' (like other international questions) has been gravely twisted by the false dichotomies which all too often characterize left debate in this country. Thus, some left-nationalists have seemed to argue that any focus on such questions as that of Canada in Southern Africa is something of a diversion—directing attention away from the central aspect of Canada's political economy, the powerful control exercised by American imperialism over our own country. Alternatively, other activists have seized upon the realities of Canada's less than admirable role abroad—in South Africa and elsewhere—to pinpoint Canada's own imperialist attributes, and to downplay any suggestion that we are ourselves dependent or 'colonized' in any very funamental way. Yet the fact remains that—both of these positions are misleading, as the Southern Africa case reveals. Clearly, Canada's role abroad sheds considerable light on the way in which American hegemony, institutionalized by branch-plants and global defense imperatives (e.g. NATO) and legitimized by the world-view of global liberalism, imposes its logic. Just as clearly, domestic classes—clustered around the state and around Canadian corporations—are seen to be enthusiastic partisans of such global activity as is exemplified by Canadian policy in Southern Africa. In consequence, those engaged in liberation support work seem well-placed to question the necessity of structuring debate in such a way as to blur either dimension of Canada's political economy. Instead, they are forced to affirm the proposition that so tight is the weave between American hegemony and the dominant interests of domestic classes in Canada that the thrusts of anti-imperialism (left-nationalism) and of class struggle coincide."

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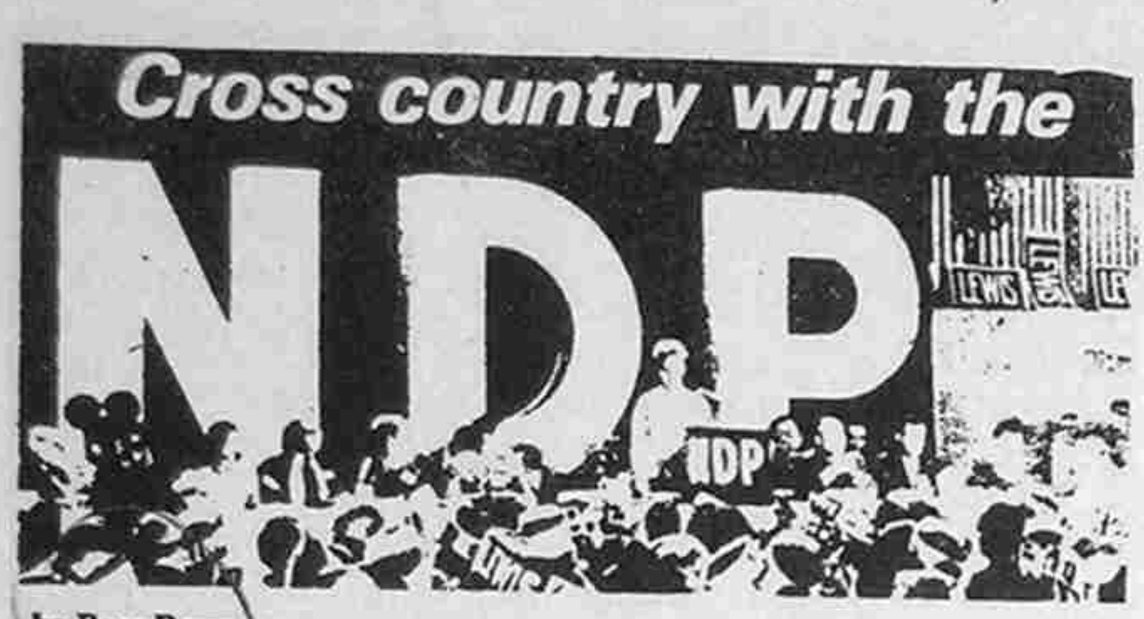
87-01-57-5a



by Ross Dowson

Sask. nuclear sales

A seminar sponsored by the Saskatchewan New Democratic Women heard Dr. Fred Knelman score the Bayda Board of Inquiry set up by the Saskatchewan government to look into the Amok uranium development at Cliff Lake.

"The board is nothing but tokenism and this kind of thing should not happen in Saskatchewan or Manitoba" (where there are NDP governments). Knelman, author of the book **Nuclear Energy—the Unforgiving Technology**, opposed the selling for profit of a non-renewable resource which we may need ourselves.

He said the people of Saskatchewan cannot fool themselves into thinking they can simply sell uranium: "When you sell it you are proliferating the use of plutonium." He warned against the increasing accessibility to plutonium created by the operation of nuclear reactors, which makes the bomb much more available, but gave even more emphasis to the other qualities of plutonium. It is the single most toxic element known to mankind. One grain of plutonium in fine dust or spray form can cause 1,000,000 cancer deaths.

The plenary session that followed panel discussions decided to draft a letter to Premier Blakeney calling for an extension of time of the hearings of the Bayda Commission until at least the fall of 1978. It also endorsed a petition being circulated door to door by the Women Against Nuclear Development, in opposition to nuclear power.

The executive of the Saskatchewan Mayfair NDP passed a resolution "urging the (Blakeney) government to halt all plans to expand uranium mining and/or refining in Saskatchewan, and to phase out, as soon as feasible, existing mining except for medical requirements."

BC NDP

About two thirds of the 1,000 delegates at the recent BC NDP convention were attending their first political convention. Most of them were in their thirties and most had joined the NDP after the last election which saw the defeat of the Barrett government. In the course of his address to the convention Barrett said there were now 30,000 members in the BC NDP.

In his report to the recent Alberta provincial council meeting, Provincial Secretary Ray Martin said that the membership of the Alberta section is at its highest point ever. "We have now passed the 6,000-member mark. The total number of party members registered for 1977, 1976, 1975 is 6,215. That's up about 300 since our March convention."

Alberta

Among the resolutions passed by the Alberta provincial council meeting, either referred to it by the convention or simply not dealt with was one on the banks and another on Quebec.

The council called for "the nationalization of the private banks" and urged "the NDP to develop federally a national policy" with that aim.

The resolution passed handily on Quebec states that the Alberta NDP "affirms its primary commitment to the goal of building a united, federal, socialist Canada, but supports the right of Quebec to self-determination." The resolution incorporated a clause committing the Alberta section to opposition to "the use of military force or other forms of coercion to keep Quebec within confederation."

Manitoba

A congratulatory motion to the Queen on her Silver Jubilee, when put before the Manitoba legislature, did not get unanimous approval.

When the motion honoring the British Queen, decreed by Confederation to be Canada's head of state, was declared carried by the Speaker, as a matter of course, there was a loud shout: "With one exception." It was Harry Shafransky (NDP-Radisson).

Outside the house Shafransky said his real objection was to the Queen's consort, Prince Philip. "The fact is that some months ago Prince Philip took upon himself to be critical of poor people. He's been on the public dole ever since I can remember," he said.

→ TO PAGE 2

Ziemba's jailing sets precedent and embarasses government

Ontario NDP MLA Ed Ziemba's determined stand to defend the confidentiality of a constituent by going to jail for an indeterminant series of 6-day sentences, and the widening popular support for his action, won his release on the sixth day.

It also forced the attorney-general and the Tory cabinet, after harassing Ziemba for seven long months, after obtaining a Supreme Court order against him, and after calmly witnessing a provincial court preliminary hearing order him handcuffed and led off to imprisonment in the scandalous Don Jail, to suddenly and completely referse itself.

Attorney General McMurtry hurriedly found the means to dump the preliminary hearings and to proceed to the trail of the drug company charged with fraudulent overbillings against the Ontario Hospital Plan. Ziemba, faced with the second 6-day sentence, was magically released from having to answer questions as to who gave him information which it has been estimated has since resulted in savings to taxpayers of $10 million.

Ziemba's intransigeance also won what could result in an even more far-reaching concession from the Tory cabinet and its courts. Noting that Ziemba "is now using his situation to try to mobilize public opinion to effect a change in law giving an extended privilege to members of the legislature," McMurtry announced that the cabinet passed an order-in-council instructing the Court of Appeal to rule on questions of legislative privilege.

The court will be asked to rule on whether an MPP can refuse in a criminal proceeding to disclose source or content of information on the same basis as communications by informants to law enforcement have been held on occasion to be protected from disclosures in the public interest: and to rule as to whether the Legislative Assembly, supposedly the highest governing body in the province, can itself enact legislation protecting its members from being compelled by a court to disclose sources of information.

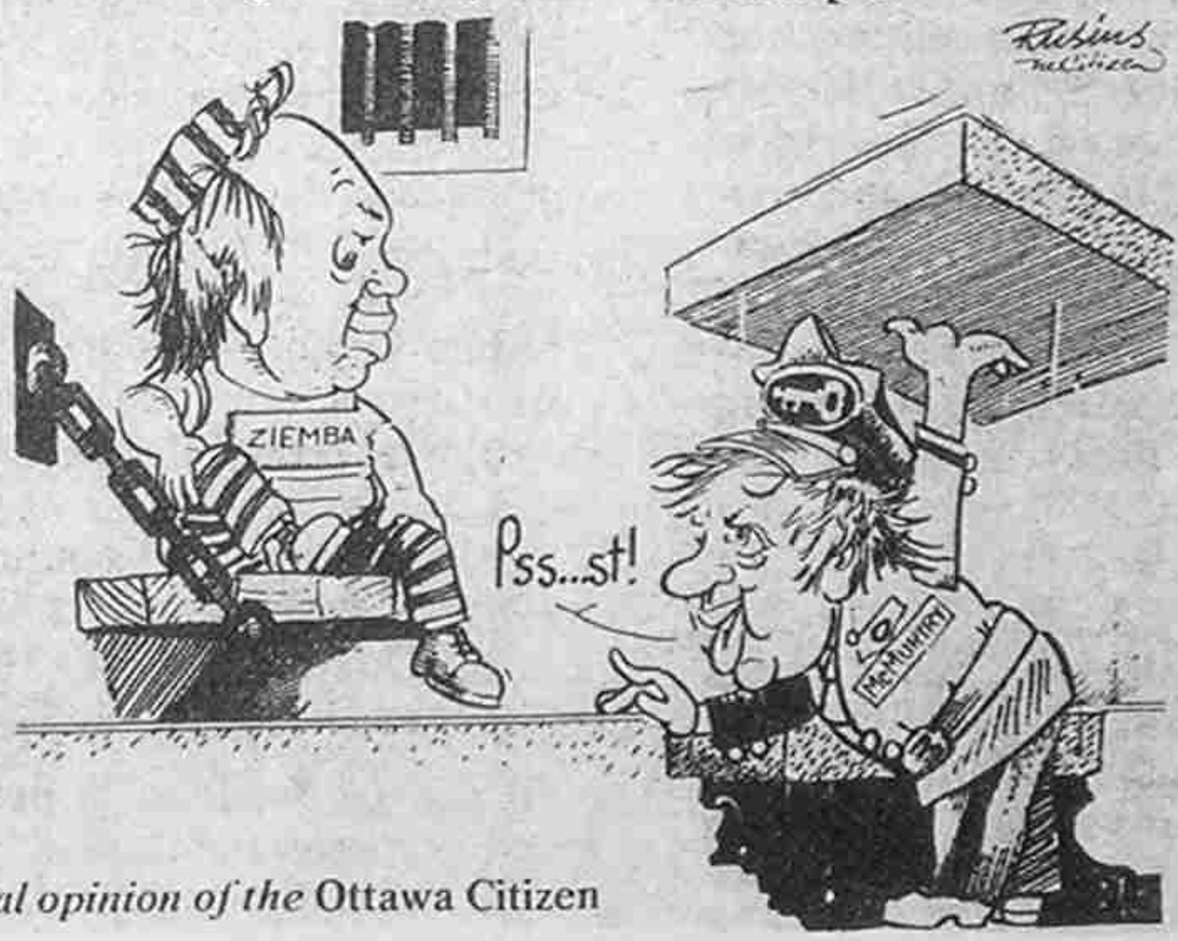
For all its far-reaching implications for the entire working class movement this struggle was waged —despite the entire NDP leadership. The High Park NDP stood firmly behind Ziemba and it was through its efforts that an around-the-clock vigil was mounted in front of the Don Jail and a demonstration of some 300 demanding his release was mobilized at Queen's Park while the House went into session.

All this time Ziemba and High Park were largely on their own. And at the very height of the struggle NDP MPP's were publicly urging Ziemba to capitulate and inform on his publicly-spirited constituent.

Instead of seizing McMurtry's announcement of the government's retreat and utilizing the legislative assembly—heightening public interest, widening public protest and building up a massive pressure on the government and its court—the NDP caucus meekly accepted his appeal to cool off the whole situation.

McMurtry deplored that the atmosphere was "emotionally charged" and therefore not favorable for debate that would retain what he and his crowd consider "the necessary perspective." On behalf of the NDP caucus Stephen Lewis hurriedly rose to declare that they did not consider the debate necessary—quickly seconded by the Liberal leader.

But a wide, free-ranging debate was just what was necessary to make all members stand up and be counted and to mobilize the NDP ranks to acquaint the entire population with the issues and drive home the lessons of the struggle. Insofar as there is a continued delay and the findings of the Court of Appeal remain in doubt, that responsibility is the NDP leadership's.



editorial opinion of the Ottawa Citizen

forward (28) July 1977

07-015?-6

Oh Canada

by Paul Kane

International Telephone and Telegraph's Florida-based ITT Community Development Corporation is demanding what it calls "observing arrangements" with its Canadian brokers. ITT was caught in the plot that succeeded in imposing the murderous police state in Chile following the overthrow of the legally elected Allende regime.

With these arrangements ITT can employ any means, including but not limited to electronic monitoring of any deals Canadian brokers may be arranging with clients interested in lots in a 93,000 acre tract north of Daytona Beach.

The sales staff of Young & Biggins, who have handled sales since 1974, have refused to sign the surveillance forms introduced last Fall. Manager Zinny, who came to Canada from Poland in 1947 said "I didn't come to this country to give up my freedom so easily with a signature."

Among others, ITT approached Lou Tassey of Holiday Realty Ltd. of Toronto. Tassy said that "I've never seen in any contract a clause like that. It would mean," he said, that "they would have the right without my knowledge to install bugs in my office, or in my home if I take clients to my home, or in my telephone. How can I sign on behalf of a client I may be talking to," he told a **Toronto Star** staff reporter. "What am I supposed to say. 'Watch out what you say, because I'm bugged'?"

According to Canadian League of Composers President Harry Freedman, the Toronto Symphony programmers scheduled ten Canadian works for performance next season. However, in the full page newspaper ad announcements of the TS programs for the coming season only one of the ten was listed.

Freedman notes that "there is a growing segment of the population who feel that precisely because they are Canadian the ten composers should have been the last to be cut, whatever the reason." He deplores and protests that "obviously the TS is not part of that segment."

While the most developed sectors of the capitalist world are exporters of capital and creditor nations, Canada with its advanced capitalist economy continues to be an increasingly greater importer of capital.

Ottawa's Export Development Corporation estimates that the foreign debts of all the underdeveloped nations (imperialized, colonialized, are words sometimes used to define them) have risen to $175 billion. At the end of World War II Canada's foreign debts amounted to $7 billion. But by the end of 1976 it had soared to $96 billion—55% as high as the total external debts of all those nations which encompass more than half of the world's population. The long term liabilities, which amount to $84 billion of the total, only two years earlier stood at $60 billion—marking a $24 billion or 40% increase.

The year 1976 saw a net outflow of direct investment of $950 million. For the first time in Canada the National Association of State Development Agencies, with development promoters from 32 U.S. states, held a seminar in Toronto this month to entice indigenous Canadian capital and US branch-plant capital across the line. US investment counsellors such as Washington lawyer Mac Dunaway parade such facts as in the U.S. "steelworkers have given up the right to strike in exchange for arbitration even during contract negotiations...only 25% of the work force is unionized and the percentage has decreased over the past 10 years." Yet Canada's foreign direct investment no doubt continues to expand, even were capital inflows to dry up, as foreign-owned (largely U.S.) firms re-invest their Canadian earnings.

Whatever the decision, any oil pipeline out of the Canadian north will require such a massive infusion of capital that only the US can supply it. The sustained economic downturn in the capitalist world has seen Ottawa and the Canadian capitalist class turn towards increasing dependency on the U.S. Last Fall Ottawa decided to ease off on even those tokenist restraints that it had imposed on foreign investments under the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA). Up to the end of November only 12 decisions a month had been made. Since then, 45 cases a month have been handled. It is in acquisitions that the most drastic change has taken place. The approval rate has risen from 84% to a 93% rate.

Richard Thomson, president of the Toronto-Dominion Bank testified before the Senate banking, trade and commerce committee. As president of a board of directors packed with top representatives of the most powerful U.S. corporations and heads of their branch-plant operations in Canada, he warned that "Ottawa in proposing to allow the entry of numerous foreign banks is proposing that we embark on an irreversible course."

On the basis of T-D research, he said, 45 U.S. banks would open at once, and expressed surprise to see Ottawa "so actively courting it (foreign ownership) in the one vital sector of the economy that has been up to now, Canadian owned."

He claimed "most countries that at one time permitted the entry of foreign banks have now closed their doors...Australia, for example, has for several years completely banned all foreign banking." Canadian banking in the Caribbean and Latin America, long presented as evidence that Canada is a substantial power among the imperialist nations, has suffered grievously, according to Thomson, "in many Caribbean and South American countries where Canadian banks exerted a major influence, the Canadian banks were asked to leave or told to sell control to residents."

He challenged the august Senators "how would the Canadian financial system respond to the directives of the Bank of Canada" in the face of an even heightened presence of foreign banking interests? But the actions of the Canadian banks in already aiding and abetting the U.S. takeover of the Canadian economy have already posed the urgency of public ownership of all the banking and financial institutions of the country—which alone can lay the basis for their functioning in the interests of the working people of Canada.

Parliamentary secretary to the Finance Minister, Mr. Robert Kaplan, upon returning from the annual meeting of the Inter-American Development Bank in Guatemala, expressed puzzlement as to why Canadian companies, and of course their employees, through job possibilities, are not getting a "fair share" of the 87 contracts worth $500 million that the bank helped finance last year.

Canada, after all, is the second largest shareholder after the U.S., with 4 percent of the shares. Yet of the past 105 contracts approved, only one Canadian bid was accepted.

Then again, only seven Canadian companies made bids. According to Kaplan, officials repeated the platitude that Canadian entrepreneurs "aren't willing to take the risk of going outside the country to find opportunities."

"Another possibility" ruminated Kaplan, cautiously, "is the branch-plant nature of a lot of Canadian industry. It's argued that Canadian subsidiaries are discouraged from doing that sort of thing... Of course that is certainly contrary to Canadian policy... We'll never know the extent to which it is true."

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British socialists explain Labour Party orientation

The political situation of the Canadian labor movement having a single working class party, the NDP, which is endorsed by the trade unions is very similar to Britain and its ruling Labour Party.

How British socialists have approached the Labour Party both historically and theoretically is the subject of a pamphlet written by the British League for Socialist Action called 'The Labour Party: Which way?"

The analysis and history it puts forward should be of interest to Canadian socialists who support the NDP since it deals with a similar, but more developed, experience than Canadian workers have had.

The pamphlet shows how the Labour Party by its very organizational existence, union links, and the type of reform politics it carries has been, and will be, the vehicle that workers turn to when they seek a political solution to their problems.

Socialists, it says, should welcome this turn towards working class politics as the first giant step towards a conscious socialist perspective and the strategy that can achieve socialism.

The pamphlet argues, therefore, that those who are already socialists should support the Labour Party as the workers' own party and direct developing mass movements towards it where the need for socialist leadership can be demonstrated concretely to ever greater numbers.

The Labour Party, like the NDP, has known many "right" and "left" turns reflecting various social pressures and the way labor leaders respond to them. The historical section of the pamphlet documents these turns showing once again how central the Labour Party is to class conscious workers over a long period of time.

For socialists wondering about the dynamic of the NDP, "The Labour Party: Which Way?" offers additional tools for analysis.

It is available from Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. West, 50¢.

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Forward Fund Drive close to $5,000 goal

There is a story about the capitalist press that appeared in the early Canadian socialist paper, **The Worker**, of Sept. 13, 1924, which goes as follows. John Swindon, once editor of the **New York Times**, responded this way to a toast in favor of the independent press to a gathering of his fellow journalists:

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press. You it and I know it. There is not one of you who would dare write his honest opinion and if he did, you would know beforehand that it would never appear in print.

"The **business** of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread.

"We are the tools and vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. We are jumping jacks. They pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are the property of these men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

This testimony is striking confirmation of the absolute necessity of the counteracting and wholesome influence of the socialist press—what underlies **Forward**'s existence.

As of this writing, our readership has pledged $4,500 of the $5,000 necessary to keep **Forward** solvent for the next year. The staff of **Forward** expresses its socialist gratitude for your response, and we urge those of you who have neglected to pledge to do so right away so that we may honor our commitment to publish for another year, the unvarnished truth.

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forward (29) Sept. 1977

09_01_1

Labor to fight for jobless

by P. Kent

CLC President Joe Morris, with the unanimous backing of the CLC executive declared on August 18 that "We totally reject the idea of controls in any form whatsoever, compulsory or voluntary," and will have no further consultations with the government until the controls program has been lifted completely.

With their rejection of Ottawa's attempt to foist the policing of its wage freeze onto the labor movement itself, by voluntary acceptance of "restraints", the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress ended their diversionary adventure with Tripartism. **Forward** saw this conclusion from the beginning.

The wage freeze, now in effect for a full two years, as labor warned all along, has done nothing to halt inflation. It has only served to place the cost of the anarchy and decay of the capitalist system onto the backs of those who are already its chief victims.

The inflation rate, which the government claimed was running at 10% annually when it imposed the controls, has been running in recent months at 8% to 10%. On the other hand wage increases have been held down to 4% and 5% annually, representing a substantial cut in the living standards of the working people, and at the same time gravely undermining the unions as instruments of collective bargaining. On top of this, unemployment has steadily mounted, until today it is the highest since the pre-World War II Depression.

The government's Statistics Canada concedes that unemployment now stands at 800,000 or 8.3% of the work force and that the economy is headed into recession. However labor statisticians estimate that it is closer to 12% and is continuing to rise, with 48% of the unemployed under the age of 25—a rate that is exceeded nowhere in the capitalist world except Italy.

"A drive toward a policy of full employment" initiated by the CLC leadership in its Labor Day message is now advancing from BC right across the country. As part of the Ontario Federation's planned six regional conferences across Ontario, the Metro Toronto Labor Council, in alliance with the Brampton, Oshawa, Oakville and Coburg councils, has called a two-day conference on October 21-22. Conferences will also be held in Kingston, October 12: Sault Ste. Marie, October 14; Windsor, October 17; St. Catharines, October 19; and Orillia, October 24.

The conferences are designed to involve a cross-section of the community. They will open a wide discussion, make a positive and concrete attempt to bring about a much needed service for the unemployed, and decided on a program of action to alleviate unemployment. Out of the Ontario conferences will come a major policy statement to be presented to the delegates at the November OFL convention.

The conferences can provide the means to once again project the organized labor movement forward as the spearhead of all the working peoples' interests, and into mass actions such as it demonstrated its capacity for on the October 15 Day of Protest. The conferences, and finally the OFL and its political arm the NDP, will have to consider a broad program of action to assure that everyone seeking work has the right to work.

While the CLC has endorsed the concept of indexing wages through COLA clauses in union contracts they have not yet been won on a wide basis. A campaign should be got under way to win COLA clauses in every contract and to help all on fixed-incomes to have that income protected against inflation with automatic increases.

The demand for a shorter work week at the same take-home pay, a sliding scale of hours in every contract, is becoming essential to protect many workers from being laid off while a few are inveigled into working overtime.

The working people of Canada are not prepared as Mr.Gillies, chairman of the Tory shadow cabinet, urges, to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." We want to protect and extend the highly complex and productive industrial plant that we have erected here. Extended plant shutdowns and plant closures that dump hundreds onto the scrap heap and turn entire communities into ghost towns are becoming increasingly frequent. The conferences must consider demanding that these closures cease, that the corporations' books be opened, that high salaries and bonuses of their executives be cut, dividends curtailed, and where thought advisable their capital be used to stockpile goods, or the plants be re-tooled to produce marketable goods—that they be placed under public ownership and the control of the workers employed in them.

The conferences should consider endorsing and getting behind the efforts of the NDP to compel the federal government to allocate public funds for a vast public works program that will provide badly needed low cost housing.

These conferences can mark a big stride forward in answering the enveloping crisis and developing the forces that could completely transform the economy to serve the vast majority of the population—not the corporate interests.

forward (29) Sept. 1977

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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09-01st-2

The balance sheet

At long last the balance sheet that history drew with World War I is now, 60 years later, being drawn in part by the leadership of the British Labour Party. The pagentry of this year's Jubilee celebrations of the Queen of England, head of state of Canada and Commonwealth countries, and all the pomp and ceremony of British imperialist power, no longer bear even the slightest semblance to reality.

As the seven-member "think tank" within Prime Minister Callaghan's office admits in its 18 month long review, with apparent reluctance, "the United Kingdom's ability to influence in the world has declined and there is very little that diplomatic activity and international public relations can do to disguise this fact."

But the old colonial officialdom has held on, even as the inglorious, gory Empire broke up, the substitute Commonwealth connections have given way, and Britain has joined the European Economic Community. The report recommends that 55 embassies, high commissions or consulates should be closed or sharply reduced and that British government informational and cultural services such as BBC World Service radio broadcasts to Canada be abolished.

As a measure of British imperialist decline and the feeble facade that remains, the report, instead of comparisons with the United States (which has replaced the hated Pax Britannica with the hated Pax Americana) makes them with Britain's erstwhile colony—Canada. Britain, with a population 2.5 times bigger than Canada's and with an economy only 1.5 times bigger in which exports play a slightly less important part than in Canada, the report notes, has 130 diplomatic missions abroad compared to Canada's 82.

Back in 1924 Sir Aukland Geddes, former British ambassador to Washington, made a much more frank and realistic comparison of the state of affairs. Britain, he noted "has yielded the leadership of the world in many respects to the compact empire of the U.S...." The Dominions, he further noted, "are apt to look to Washington, and Washington with its inviting eyes looks back to them."

Maurice Spector, Canada's leading socialist theoretician at the time, wrote in an editorial in *The Worker*: "it is for the workers of Canada to work for complete independence from the ties of British imperialism and at the same time to gird their loins for the struggle against the Morgan dictatorship."

Winds of change

The international capitalist press, echoed by such die-hard Stalinist papers as *The Tribune* here in Canada, has been making much of the right wing, even classically reformist positions that the Communist Parties of Spain, France, Italy, Japan and Britain have been taking in the name of Euro-Communism.

The Canadian Communist Party long ago espoused parliament as the only path to socialism, as did the British Communist Party by its adoption in 1951 of the *British Road to Socialism* which had the editorial approval of no less than Stalin himself. If the Communist Party has continued to appear in some way as socialist, that is, as revolutionary, it is largely from the image fastened onto it by reactionary redbaiters. From the point of view of socialist theory it has been reformist ever since the early thirties, since the days of popular frontism and collective security.

The issue around which it has suffered split after split—the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Khrushchov revelations, the crushing of the Hungarian Uprising and the Czech Spring—has been its continued subservience to the diplomatic requirements and its apologetics for the bureaucratic caste that grew up on the isolated Soviet state. It considers the bureaucratized USSR to be the only hope for humanity —not the struggles of the working class in Canada and elsewhere for socialism in their own country as a component of an international struggle for a socialist world.

In its heroic days the USSR was a mighty inspiration and an affirmation to the workers of the world as to the possibilities of socialism. Its isolation and inherited backwardness that led to the growth upon it of a bureaucratic caste and the latter's horrendous misdeeds against socialist democracy turned the USSR into its opposite—from an opening to working class acceptance of socialism into a barrier. It has been the Communist Parties as apologists of the Kremlin, particularly where they have a mass base in the working class,that have long smeared the banner of socialism with the crimes of Stalin and his heirs like Brezhnev.

Thus for socialists, the chief significance of Euro-Communism is not its so-called turn to the right, which in reality it is not—but its beginnings of clearing the crimes of Stalinism from the banner of socialism before the thousands of workers who are looking to it.

Spanish Communist Party leader Carrillo has charged that the Soviet Union has perverted true communism, and he has declared that it has become an impediment to the development of a true workers democracy. He has defended the right of his party to hold to its own positions against the attempts of the CPSU to read it out of the working class movement by likening them to excommunication "from the Holy See."

For us this is like a breath of fresh air—an opening to all kinds of new possibilities. For instance the British Communist Party has published a pamphlet, *The Soviet Union—State Capitalist or Socialist* which in its account of the origins of the present state of affairs in the USSR reads like it was taken from Trotsky himself. The banner of socialism is being cleansed to once more appear in all its hope for humankind.

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89-01[57]-3a

The way out of the Confederation crisis

A Constituent Assembly & a new Constitution

This is the final instalment of a three-part article on the constitutional crisis now confronting Canada. The first, appearing in our May 1977 issue, dealt with the BNA Act and Confederation. The second dealt with social dynamics of the Quebec nationalist movement and appeared in our June-July issue. With the publication of this article, which marks the completion of the series, the editors of Forward *will be publishing them together in pamphlet form. We hope that with the help of our readers this will widen the circulation of this important material.*

by Ross Dowson

As Ottawa acted to firm up its control of the oil and gas-rich North West Territories and head off the mounting Native rights movement there, by moving towards transforming its stooge Territorial Council to provincial status, the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT responded.

The Brotherhood called for the scrapping of the Territorial Council July 15, when it denounced it as ignoring "the existence of two aboriginal nations in the North with their own functioning systems of governments, (and which) lumps us together in an oppressive institution based on non-native practice." It demanded the division of the Territories into three—one with a majority of Dene, one with a majority of Inuit , and one with a majority of non-natives—each with "wide powers roughly resembling those of a province and a system of government democratically determined by its citizens."

No doubt with its ability to serve the giant U.S. oil consortiums uppermost in its mind, Ottawa's response to the demands of the Native movement was the same as its response to the Québécois claim that they constitute a nation. Legislative authority and governmental jurisdiction, the cabinet intoned, "are not allocated in Canada on the grounds that differentiate between people on the basis of race." George Erasmus, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, ridiculed the cabinet's pretensions: "Very clearly what the federal government continues to support are ethnic governments so long as they are oppressed, as are the people in reserves in the south."

At the same time as the Dene and Inuit peoples issued their declaration of independence from the restraints of Confederation, Native peoples in the south voiced their demands. Ontario's 20,000 Cree and Ojibway Indians of the Grand Council Treaty 9 presented a 10-point declaration of rights to Ottawa. President Andrew Rickard summed up their aim, to "create a nation—a free and sovereign nation—within a nation." They claim about half the province of Ontario as their own—some 210,000 square miles of the Ontario far north whose waters drain into Hudson's and James Bay. The 1,600 member Peigan band in southern Alberta has recently filed a $25 million claim in the federal court against some 23,500 acres of reserve land surrendered in 1909 "through undue influence and gross breach of trust."

But it is Quebec and its struggle for national sovereignty that constitutes the most immediate and chief threat to the federalist straitjacket, and the most powerful of the forces that can lead to the restructuring of this country to meet the needs of its working people in 1977-on.

The passing of the law that requires all corporations in Quebec to undergo francisation, that establishes French as the sole official language in the courts and in the National Assembly, and firmly embeds French as the language of instruction in the schools, won a tumultuous response right across Quebec. And no wonder. It is the first significant gain to be registered in the 200-year-long struggle for Québécois rights which saw the election of the Parti Québécois into office in the Quebec National Assembly less than a year ago. Following this victory the PQ moved to establish the ground rules of the popular plebiscite or series of plebiscites which its leadership is convinced will see the Quebec people opt out of Confederation as an independent Quebec state with an associate status with anglophone Canada.

Both of these developments roused a bitter and despairing response from the Liberal government, its Big Business sponsors, the loyal opposition, and their divers hangers-on across the country. Trudeau, as head of government and the chief architect of federal laws, responded by openly expressing his support of those now flagrantly violating the laws passed by the legally-elected Quebec legislature. He likened the actions of those seeking to maintain their privileged positions in Quebec society through their children's noncompliance with the law, to those who defied conscription for overseas service in World War II, which the party he now leads enforced in the face of a plebiscite that registered an overwhelming majority of Québécois opposed. His government has made it known that it will support any challenge that may be made as to the legality of the Quebec legislation in the allegedly impartial federal courts.

With the election of the PQ to power in the Quebec National Assembly the parties of Canadian federalism went into shock. After puerile efforts to convince themselves that the PQ's election was merely the expression of the Québécois' desire for "good government," and having finally had to face the fact that whatever else the PQ stands for it is firmly committed to the establishment of Quebec sovereignty, all the parties of the status quo settled down to a powerful and systematic campaign which alternates between menacing threats and gestures at Quebec to sweet words of endearment.

There was the battle of the balance sheets—that Confederation, the PQ's facts notwithstanding, actually pays off. To the astonishment of these cynics there has been a widespread Québécois response that freedom is well worth whatever the price exacted.

After seeing the failure of reasoning together over the dollar-and-cent "facts" of Confederation it was only a small step to the petulant threats by federal and provincial government heads that in no way would they ever agree to any associate status with an independent Quebec. But who can believe that Ontario could terminate its long-standing integrated profitable trade relations with a Quebec gone independent, particularly when its own economy continues to slide into depression as profits fall, unemployment spreads and Ontario business, to save itself, desperately seeks markets in other independent states half way across the world. To cut off one's nose to spite one's face is not only painful, but a peril to one's own life.

As for the ultimate weapon—the threat, and then having to carry through with the real thing—the violent overthrow of the legally-elected PQ government and the imposition of a military-police rule in Quebec!

Just what persuasive power is there in such threats when the real thing was carried out and only a short six years ago, with Trudeau's enforcement of the War Measures Act, the military-police occupation of the province and the forcible detainment without charge of hundreds of Québécois in jail? Who can deny that this violation of Quebec rights played a significant role in the subsequent PQ victory? And if Ottawa today or in the furture were to carry out such a threat against a PQ government, would it not be even more counter-productive? And how would it extricate itself from such a situation? What would such an event mean to the Québécois and to the working-class movement of anglophone Canada—where would it end? Such a solution would only be the ultimate desperation.

Then there is the high-powered campaign that attempts to reduce this longstanding historic freedom struggle of an entire people down

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to the lowest plane of personal relations—the urgings that each anglophone Canadian should show a real friendship for the Québécois, that he/she should demonstrate it by learning French, by visiting Quebec, and above all by demonstrating a passion for Confederation. And so it goes—let's not break up what can be a beautiful Confederation between us, and if not for your own sake as a Québécois, let's live with it, change some the rules perhaps—but let's keep it together—if only for the sake of us anglophones!

The Québécois have likened Confederation to a prison. They conceive of themselves as on the point of breaking out of this prison to establish a new, independent and free relationship. Why now should they concern themselves about what is to become of the prison from which they are escaping, or with the rules or the amendments of rules that have so long governed their incarceration? And why should they coneern themselves with what is to become of those, who, even if they had no choice, were guards or in some other way defenders or apologists of the prison? The prisoners, in liberating themselves, whether the guards realize it or not, have also liberated them—from their thankless duties.

Behind the wild veerings from threats to amorous blandishments of the Trudeau government, the opposition Tories and, unfortunately the NDP parliamentary leadership, lies the simple and apparent fact that they have no program at all to meet the situation which the PQ victory has placed under the spotlight—the bankruptcy of Confederation.

At the same time as the PQ victory answered the longstanding question What does Quebec Want?—it threw Canada and Confederation itself into question. The crisis confronting the federalists is the crisis of Confederation as it evolved from the British conquest by arms, to the imposition of the BNA Act by fiat of the British colonial office, in alliance with a nascent, dependent Canadian capitalist class, and the bits and pieces that have been added to it to hold the expanding country together as it slipped into a position of a dependency of U.S. imperialist power.

The PQ victory which has set Quebec off in the direction of establishing its national sovereignty has unhinged Canada. All the efforts, all the projections of the Trudeau government and its loyal opposition are based on attempts to sanctify Confederation and are directed to turning Canadians back from coming to grips with the new reality, to returning to a situation that history has proven unworkable, and to which it is now no longer possible to return.

However, there is a program—one which can turn the crisis of Confederation into a new beginning. That program resides in the collective intelligence of the Canadian people and their capacity to act in their own interests. The way to develop that program and to mobilize the forces to implement it lies in the calling of a constituent assembly that can work out a constitution for Canada and set up appropriate structures.

Ever since November 15 in the various public forums and discussions, in assorted journals of opinion, the idea of a constituent assembly to work out a new constitution has continued to appear. It has received notable support from the editors of the influential liberal journal *Canadian Forum,* which in its June-July issue published A Proposal For a New Constitution over the name of The Committee For a New Constitution. The endorsers of this appeal include in their ranks the most prominent liberal-left personalities in the country, including leading academics in the field of history, political studies, and political science from all the major universities in anglophone Canada.

A serious weakness in its support is the absence of any representative leaders of the organized labor movement and the parliamentary leaders of the NDP. However this may well be in the process of being rectified.

The chief merit of their statement is that it starts off by recognizing the "the right of Quebec to choose their own constitutional future by free and democratic means." Noting that Quebec is now in the process of coming to a decision about its constitutional future, it authors state that "we are prepared to accept the democratic verdict of that electorate when it is determined," whatever it may be. Meanwhile, they state, "it is essential for English-speaking Canada also to debate the principles of its continuing life."

They affirn their belief that Canada "exists as a viable national community" with a "will to survive as an independent nation regardless of the choice that the people of Quebec may make about their future" and "we should be working to devise a new constitution." They state "we do not believe that Canada without Quebec must break up into weak fragments to be inevitably absorbed into the United States."

The fear that Canada, with its own institutions, with its mass labor party and its NDP governments and more advanced social legislation, *without Quebec,* will lose what little independence that has not already been forfeited to U.S. imperialism and will completely collapse into the maw of the world's super-imperialist power, is a widely held one as this debate has already revealed. This fear of the "absorption of Canada into continentalism" has caused Larry Pratt, author of *Alberta Tar Sands* and professor of political science at the University of Alberta, to refuse to sign the statement. He charges its willingness to accept Quebec's opting out as amounting to endorsing Canada's "destruction from within". Others are opposing the consolidation of the Quebec trade union movement into an autonomous national structure as splitting the Canadian union movement and weakening it before the onslaughts of capital.

But the appeal to unity upon which such arguments are based mistakes a unity in words, for a genuine unity, a unity with content. There can be no unity that is not based on free association.

After outlining the various options open to Quebec, the document states that "in event that Quebec chooses independence with association, the rest of Canada should be in a position to propose terms of association."

They urge the appointment of a constitutional commission to "hear and study the suggestions of all Canadians who wish to participate," and "the creation of a popularly elected constituent assembly

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Unity Train under way

Having bought the worked-over Freedom Train that was used to ballyhoo the Bi-Centennial over the highways and byways of the United States of America, Ottawa and seven of the heads of provincial governments are financing its refurbishing as The Discovery Train.

Next year and possibly for another four, without charge from the CPR and CNR, it will be appearing in hamlet and town from coast to coast—that is where the track has not been ripped up on the new principle of user pays. Of course, as officials assure us, it will avoid any political character. It is only designed to harmlessly help all classes, from capital to wage-labor, all Canadians, regardless of race, creed or color, to understand Canada, to discover themselves in one another—a sort of Unity Train.

The Stars and Strips will be scraped off, the eagles and the images of the Pentagon and State Department offices rubbed and scrubbed away—and, it is hoped, everyone will forget that it is a hand-me-down from Big Brother, Uncle Sam. It will also, hopefully be overlooked that Quebec has declined to participate. The Lévesque government used the nicety of budgetary reasons, with which "wage freeze" and "cut-back" Trudeau can hardly disagree. But one gets the feeling, regardless of PQ politeness, that they think that it is some kind of anti-Quebec independence gimmick.

As the train is undergoing cosmetic treatment it appears that Trudeau's task force for Canadian Unity is in some difficulty. It is not monetary. Three of the four Canadian Unity groups that Ottawa has struck off since the PQ victory of November 15 appear to be going full blast. They are applying for budgets totaling about $5 million—which it is apparent not even the NDP caucus will question. Thorson, former deputy-minister of justice, now as the prime minister's special advisor on constitutional reform, has things in hand in his area. Mr. Lefebvre's information branch has worked out a $1¼ million budget for publications costs. The group headed by Tellier as deputy-secretary of the federal-provincial relations bureau responsible for Canadian unity, drawing on the resources of all federal government departments, is pulling together a staff of 15

After a two month long delay Trudeau's Task Force for Canadian Unity finally found a Quebec representative, in two persons—one male—Gerald Beaudoin, dean of civil law at the University of Ottawa, and one female—Solange Chaput-Rolland, former Canadian representative at the UN, journalist. However in this embarassing interval its joint chairmen, Jean-Luc Pepin, formerly head of the Anti-Inflation Board, and John Robarts, erstwhile Tory premier of Ontario, managed to meet with 15 groups across the country, including Canada United, Decision Canada, Destiny Canada, Quebec-Canada, Rallis Canada, and even one called Group Without A Name.

charged with drafting a new constitution. Preparations for this assembly could be made while the the constitutional commission is doing its work. The report of the constitutional commission would form the initial basis of discussion in this constituent assembly. This constituent assembly would draft a constitution, including provision for terms of association with Quebec (in the event that Quebec should so opt) which would then be submitted to public ratification."

Back in the Mid-February issue of *Forward* its editors announced their support of the call for a constituent assembly. They urged that pressure "be mounted across the country to force the present government to issue such a call and allocate the necessary public funds to get the process underway. Should it balk," they suggested, "the governments of Saskatchewan and Manitoba and/or the Canadian Labor Congress with support of other popularly based organizations could take initiatives on their own that could force the government to act—or failing that, themselves set the process underway so that it would establish its own legitimacy.

"Among the many things this would involve would be the striking off of a broad representative impartial commission with ample funds and all government facilitices at its disposal, including prime radio and TV time, that would hold open sessions at all key points in the country. There, spokespersons from all political, cultural, social organizations and bodies, even individuals, could present papers and amplify their views on a new constitution for Canada...

"These discussions would inevitably deal with such important questions as whether a 20th century Canada would want as its head of state a Queen of another country, whether it should have an appointed Senate restricting the powers of the elected assembly, what the authority and term of office of the assembly would be, whether it would have representation on the basis of professions, of trades, from places of work, whether or how much representation it would have from inherited wealth such as Trudeau, from lawyers, doctors, and whether representatives would be subject to immediate recall by their constituency.

"The preamble to the constitution or other supplementary documents such as a Bill of Rights would declare how Canadians see themselves in relation to other peoples of the world and what they concieve as the aim and fundamental nature of the society they are building in Canada. It would have to declare whether it is tolerable to have private ownership of our natural resources, not to speak of ownership subject to laws of another country, and whether it is acceptable in this day to leave the means of production in industry upon which the employment and the physical well-being of the people depends, under private ownership and operation on the motive of profit. The question of religion and the state, of religious instruction in the schools, and church ownership of revenue producing properties, would have to be outlined. It would enunciate general principles that would determine whether Canada could continue membership in such military alliances as NORAD and NATO. In dealing with human rights it would have to decide whether barring of discrimination on the basis of sex should not also include sexual orientation and whether abortion should continue to be in the criminal code and should not be a simple matter of personal choice.

"Following extended and free wheeling discussions involving the entire population a special subcommission could be struck off. Then, guided by the many submissions draw up a draft of a constitution and any necessary supplementary documents. These drafts could again be subject to popular criticism and amendment and adjustment. Then they could be declared a provisional constitution upon which elections would be held and a representative assembly formed which would adopt a constitution—and commence to legislate the country along its lines.

"Through the processes of working out a new constitution a tremendous awakening and unleashing of all the creative forces that reside in her peoples, particularly in the highly educated and skilled working class, would take place. The foundations for completely reshaping Canada, with all its magnificent natural resources and vast productive plant, would be firmly and truly laid.

"Advance the call for a constituent assembly across anglophone Canada!"

While legal brains tangle Blakeney plots a solution

What started out as a ringing declaration for the federalist status quo and a denial of Quebec's right to national sovereignty, by the august Canadian Bar Association in convention in Ottawa, ended up as much less—with the possibility of being interpreted as quite the opposite.

The biggest legal minds in the country in the final vote of what was left of the much-amended Declaration of Policy ended up deciding to create a committee to "search for a definition of the essential attributes of a Canadian federalism." In the process of voting on the amendments they voted, as a perspicacious **Globe and Mail** columnist put it, "not to say that no province has the legal right to separate...not to say that Canadians desire to live in a single country...not to say that the Government of Canada should have sufficient authority to maintain a viable nation from sea to sea." The resolution that passed easily was one proposing that a declaration of fundamental rights be embedded in the constitution of Canada.

The most effective appeal for support of the federalist state of Canada, surprising in the light of Ottawa's continuous challenges to the legislation of his government, was made by guest speaker Saskatchewan's NDP Premier Alan Blakeney.

Blakeney attempted to define the most obvious aspects of the problem —the lack of a strong distinctive Canadian identity, which he urged could only be developed "by making Canada more Canadian." Referring not to Quebec but to the centrifugal forces of regionalism, he suggested that Halifax where now "more industries and business...are mostly subsidiaries of Ontario and U.S. corporations" has "like many other cities and regions of Canada moved...to something much more resembling colonial status..." He said "Canada over the centuries appears to have two problems: one, relations with the U.S. ('I don't think it possible to have an independent country with an almost totally dependent economy' and 'with a heavily dependent culture') and two, relations between French and English. It is my submission that these two problems are so closely related as to be virtually one problem when we as Canadians know what we want Canada to be in relation to the U.S."

While recognizing that conflicting class interests are involved but without so much as hinting that there is a Canadian capitalist ruling class whose interests now predominate, he urged a continuation of what he characterized as a Canadian tradition. "The tradition of compromise" is what, according to Blakeney, led Canada to "not join in the American rebellion against Britain" (1776) and which resulted in Confederation (1867). While in reality this is the root cause of today's crisis, according to Blakeney "it is a tradition which provides the solution of our present dilemma. Canada was born out of accommodation...It will survive by accommodation," he said.

To the two now often repeated points of accommodation to Quebec—special constitutional arrangements for one or more but not all provinces and large scale bilingual programs across Canada, Blakeney added two more of his own: one, "to encourage or at least tolerate—trade unions based on linguistic groups" and two, "encourage or at least tolerate wider public ownership of industry in Quebec."

Among other guest speakers was Robert Cliche, former Quebec NDP leader, and now a Quebec court judge, who told the Association that it should present a draft of a new constitution for the consideration of the people. Another guest speaker, newspaper columnist Anthony Westell, suggested that a constituent assembly of Canadians would make a useful contribution to finding solutions.

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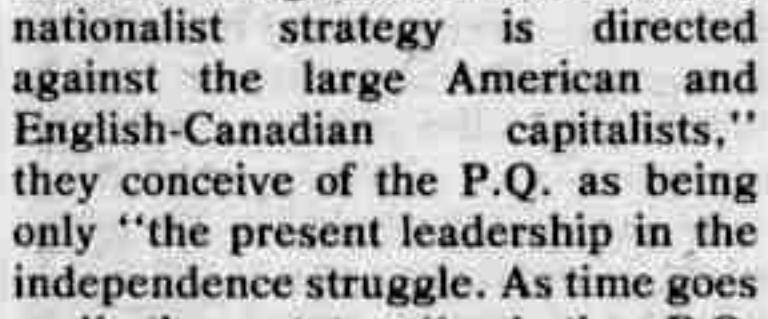
Oh Canada

by Paul Kane

Nationalism: Quebec Nationalism—Canadian nationalism—and its relationship to Trudeau's stirring of "bourgeois nationalist sentiment to conceal the irreparable state of the economy," is the theme of the two-page editorial in the August—September 1977 issue of **Next Year Country**. NYC is published by the Saskatchewan section of the Waffle which headed a mass left-wing formation in the NDP until 1972.

The editors conceive of Canadian nationalism as having "two sides. Directed against U.S. domination of our economy and culture it is progressive. With working class leadership such nationalism could become significant in the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism. But", they note, "when Canadian nationalism is directed against the aspirations of the people of Quebec it is reactionary, for it divides working people against one another."

The editors see Quebec as a nation. "Progressive insofar as its nationalist strategy is directed against the large American and English-Canadian capitalists," they conceive of the P.Q. as being only "the present leadership in the independence struggle. As time goes on," they state, "and the P.Q. shows its conservative colors, only two options will be available. Either the working class will suffer a political defeat at the hands of the P.Q. and its former enemies in



Ottawa, or the working class will take charge of the national question in Quebec. By building on anti-imperialist and revolutionary nationalism the struggle may be raised to a higher level.

"Working people in Canada have many reasons to support a strong, anti-imperialist nationalism and working class militancy in Quebec for it can only assist the struggle for independence and socialism in Canada."

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The Nova Scotia government has been trying to replace, or integrate a new steel mill into its giant Sysco basic steel operation at Sydney. The mill is operating at half capacity, with a $250 million debt, and unemployment is running at depression levels in Sydney.

The government rescued the British Hawker-Sidley interests who had drained off every cent they could from the operation, rendering it uncompetitive in the process, by buying them out. But the plant has continued to decline in the competitive struggle with more modern plants in Japan and Germany.

The federal government, which one might anticipate would do something for the economy of Nova Scotia, firmly in capitalist hands, if not for the working force of the province, is now granting a loan of $47 million to the building of a new mini-mill. But the loan is not to a government-owned project, and it is not to be used in development in Nova Scotia. The loan is to the privately-owned Co-Steel of Whitby, Ontario, to be invested in another country—Perth-Amboy, New Jersey, U.S.A., which will only increase the competitive squeeze on the Sydney plant and result in further unemployment there. Ironically, Co-Steel was one of the advisors to the Nova Scotia government which was led to decide that the $300 million they were told was necessary to lay down a new basic steel mill would be an error in the face of market conditions.

J.K. Bell, Secretary-Treasurer of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor, has denounced the Co-Steel deal as a "complete sell-out," and demands an inquiry as to why the federal government would allow this "export of cash" by its Export Development Corporation. He claims that the Perth-Amboy operation, costing a total of $94 million, and not the advisors' estimated $300 million, "is the ideal plant we say that Sysco should go into—with our limestone, our iron ore and our coal."

According to Nova Scotia NDP leader Akerman "the whole thing is pretty hard to justify...creating employment and competition in other countries." The Tory opposition leader has denounced it as a "bitter betrayal and a slap in the face to every Nova Scotian..." Liberal Premier Regan of Nova Scotia is pretending that the action of the Liberal federal government is a non-event.

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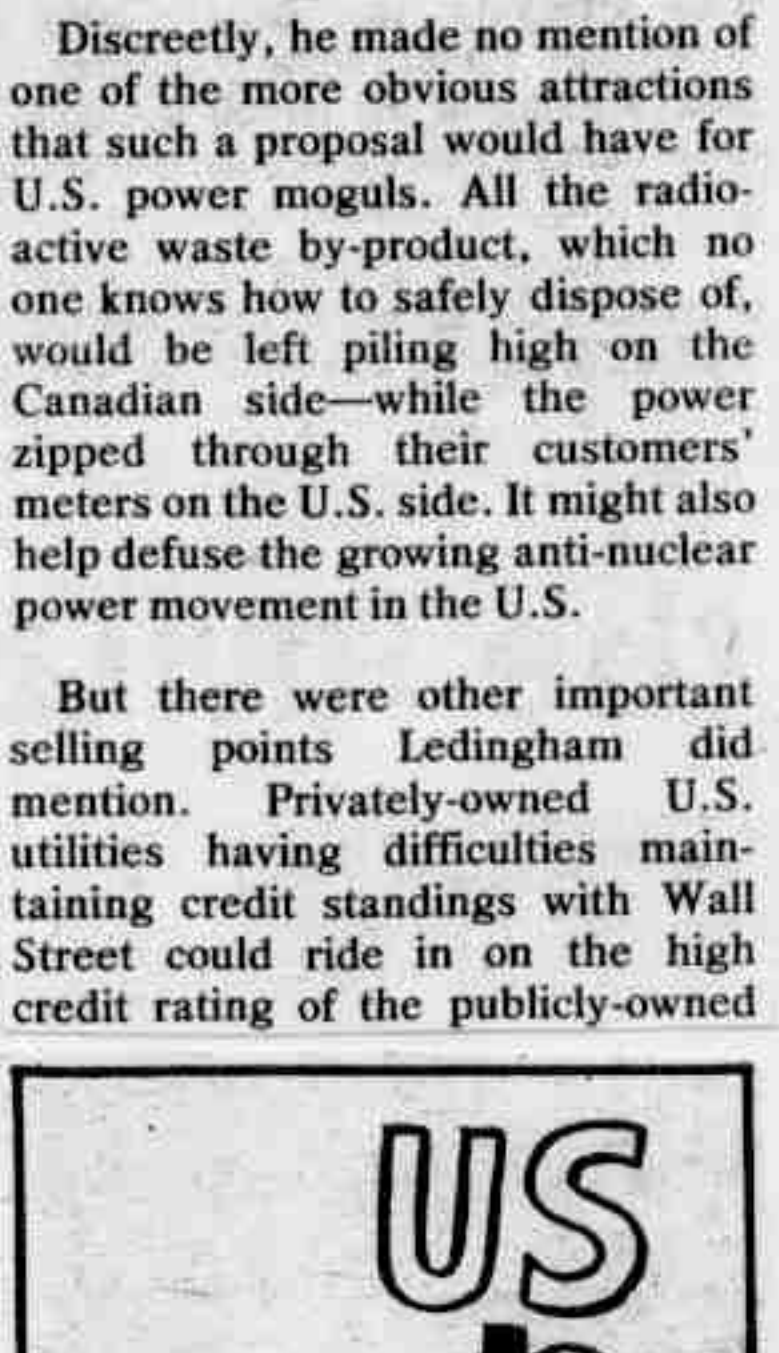
Canada will become the site of nuclear power projects galore if officials like William Ledingham of the Ontario Ministry of Industry and Tourism have their way. A plan he outlined to the Porter Royal Commission on Electric Power Planning would turn Canada into an even greater maker of power to aid industrial development, not in Canada, but in the United States.

Discreetly, he made no mention of one of the more obvious attractions that such a proposal would have for U.S. power moguls. All the radioactive waste by-product, which no one knows how to safely dispose of, would be left piling high on the Canadian side—while the power zipped through their customers' meters on the U.S. side. It might also help defuse the growing anti-nuclear power movement in the U.S.

But there were other important selling points Ledingham did mention. Privately-owned U.S. utilities having difficulties maintaining credit standings with Wall Street could ride in on the high credit rating of the publicly-owned



Ontario Hydro. The report noted that the Canadian market could not meet the 2.5 to 7 billion dollar capital costs of the proposed plant within 200 miles of the U.S. border in the Sault Ste. Marie area—but no worry—U.S. financial interests would be more than able and willing to hold the lucrative bonds.

There would be an estimated peak of 13,750 jobs during the period of construction and, after 30 years, he emphasized, Ontario Hydro would have a facility producing 5,000 megawatts. Of course it would have little or no use for such a project unless it continued to be tied into U.S. production—and then there is the nagging worry of Canada being turned into a nuclear waste garbage dump that very discreetly was not mentioned.

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All the ingredients of an adventure

What's behind the fusion of the RMG/LSA?

by Ross Dowson

Early this spring the editors of **Forward** received in the mail a copy of a report adopted by the leadership of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (GMR). It was a progress report of its discussion on fusion with the League for Socialist Action (LSO). Our unidentified informant urged us to "expose" the projected fusion in the pages of **Forward** as "unprincipled". We did not do so.

We have no special interest in the internal affairs of the RMG/LSA. Although as socialists we are fully prepared to collaborate where we have a common understanding on matters of mutual concern. We also failed to grasp how the fusion of these two Canadian organizations could be considered unprincipled when they both belong to the same international organization calling itself the Fourth International. Rather it seemed to us that it was their continued separatedness that had an element of unprincipledness.

The discussions covered in this spring's RMG report have now taken on a public form. The Revolutionary Marxist Group (GMR) and the League for Socialist Action (LSO) are no more. At a convention held in Montreal this month they united in what is now the Revolutionary Workers League. Their papers, the **Old Mole** and **Labour Challenge** are no more. Their press will be known as **The Militant.** At this time we are unaware of the name of the paper of their Quebec homologue.

What was widely known during the stirring radicalization of the '60's as the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière had an ideological continuity reaching back to the movement launched by Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald when they were expelled from the leadership of the Stalinized Communist Party of Canada for "Trotskyism".

The Revolutionary Marxist Group, a product of this youth radicalization, was founded in October 1973 through the fusion of the Red Circle which came out of the Waffle experience in the NDP, a New Left formation called the Old Mole, and an ultra-left tendency that developed in the League for Socialist Action called the Revolutionary Communist Tendency. At a time when the LSA was conducting unity probes with it, the Red Circle/Old Mole formed a secret bloc with the RCT which broke, according to schedule, from the LSA at its 1973 convention.

The formation of the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the crisis of the League for Socialist Action flowed from the impact of the essentially petit-bourgeois student radicalization on an all-too-limited revolutionary socialist cadre, combined with an extended and intense factional struggle in the formations attempting to build a world Socialist leadership in the so-called Fourth International. In 1972 this dispute in the international developed such intensity that a bloc subsequently calling itself the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionaire which identified with the international majority tendency split the Quebec Trotskyist movement with the charge that the LSA/LSO had "degenerated" and that "all common work was impossible within one and the same organization." At the same time dissident ultra-left currents remaining inside the LSA, encouraged by the international majority, coalesced in the Revolutionary Communist Tendency bent above all in terminating the LSA's longstanding orientation of

The 1973 convention of the Canadian Trotskyists saw a split away of an ultra-left current which fused with New Left elements to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

unconditional but critical support of the New Democratic Party. The RCT openly declared the LSA majority leadership as degenerate, and their aim—the gutting of the LSA.

The majority leadership of the LSA, instead of defending the established and tested positions of the movement from this ultra-left assault, began a process of adaptations to it. The United Tendency, later the Labor Party Tendency, which attempted to resist, was read out of the international minority tendency which it had supported along with the LSA majority, because of its alleged bourgeois nationalism.

This process of adaptation to ultra-left pressures was accelerated to a break neck speed with the unprecedented intervention by the leading representative of the Fourth International in the Canadian dispute. While long familiar with and completely uncritical of the LSA's strategic orientation to the Canadian labor party, suddenly, in the Fall of 1973, he perceived it as a "tailist deviation". This assault knocked the LSA majority completely off base into a wholesale capitulation and adaptation to ultra-left pressure. This process has continued on over the intervening years and the RMG leadership assures us that it will continue. In this spring's report to their membership the RMG leadership note that the LSA's line on the NDP "has undergone quite a profound evolution" and "can evolve further" in what is to them a "positive direction".

Evidence of this is the LSA's intervention in this year's Ontario election when they contested the riding of the Tory premier. In the midst of the campaign, to the consternation of the membership, the NDP provincial leader publicly repudiated the official party position for public ownership of the natural resources industries. This fact alone opened up real possibilities for a socialist candidate. But instead of serving as an example of how a socialist campaigns, the radical lifestyle of its demonstratively pregnant, single-parent, lesbian candidate depoliticized the LSA's effort—freaking-out NDPers and others moving to political class consciousness.

The LSA leadership for its part appears to have succeeded in establishing the new organization as a pan-Canadian one. A key issue to those who split to form the GMR was recognition of the then only rising separatist movement of the Québécois by establishing an autonomous Quebec section. Today as Quebec moves towards actual separation even the staid fathers of the Anglican Church are aware of the need to give their Quebec parishoners a separate status, replacing the Anglican label with Episcopalean. Yet the GMR has pulled back to accept the status of individual and branch membership in a pan-Canadian organization.

The ebb of the youth radicalization and the as yet only ascending new working class radicalization has seen increasing receptivity to Trotskyism, but a proliferation of Trotskyist groups—and a decline in the ranks of both the LSA/LSO and RMG/GMR. The Revolutionary Workers League, coming out of the fusion of the LSA-RMG, encompasses not more but possibly less than the forces that were in the LSA/LSO alone in 1972. It is this decline and now the different needs of the components of the International that are the framework of this unification. Thus, rather than "unprincipled", this unification would appear at this time to be more of an adventure. Not a very sound basis for a unification that would serve the purposes of socialist militants in this country.

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Truth comes out on Canada's post-card heroes

The RCMP: myths and realities

By Ross Dowson

One of the most exalted myths foisted upon the working people of Canada and carefully nurtured over the past 100 years by every level of communication, from the tales repeated by rote at the Sunday school class to the hyped-up message pulsating down from space satellites, is the sanctification of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

If Canada can be said to lack a sense of national identity, it doesn't lack a national symbol. That symbol is the RCMP, known from the deepest and remotest recesses of the Amazon jungles to the highest light-struck steppes in the Himalayas.

What is it? Is it a hallowed spirit? An intrepid force? Why it's the scarlet-tuniced, Sam Brown-belted, on-horse Super Cop. The Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman, combining the idealistic clean cut freshness of the help-hand senior boy scout, the fearless spirit "who always gets his man," to a Sir Galahad on guard at the side of a God-given royal monarch, right up to that holy of holies—the Canadian capitalist state.

For well over three months now, the mass media has been crammed with evidence that this sacred symbol of law and order has been caught up in the most blatant violation of laws that we have all along been told absolutely depend on it for continued respect and enforcement.

Have the RCMP violations of the law, dirty tricks and all, been directed against terrorists, against spies of a threatening foreign power in a period, not of detente, but of clear and present danger—involving the very security of the nation? Not at all! Search as they may, the apologists for the RCMP have not been able to point to a single act that in any way could justify their misdeeds. Nor have they been able to thrust anything forward that could serve even as a scapegoat—other than the legally elected PQ government with its projected popular vote on sovereignty-association.

They have been reduced to crying about the perilous "climate of the times," in order to justify the RCMP bugging, thievery, incendiarism, and frame-ups. But the Liberal federal election slogan at precisely that time (1973) was—The Land is Strong. When the situation in Quebec was presented as evidence, it was even too much for federal Health Minister Monique Bégin. Dismissing it as completely absurd, she questioned what could possibly be the scope of RCMP bugging in Quebec now, with the election of the PQ last year?

Caught in this embarrassing and expanding accumulation of RCMP violations of the law, the government is now trying to turn back the developing tide of indignation, bringing into play ever more brazenly the sanctified status of the RCMP itself, as a key institution of the state. Its chief concern, which it appears to be placing even before its own future, is the fate of the RCMP. As Solicitor-General Fox expressed it to the house, "It is crucial that this country not lose its security service because of what has gone on in the past."

The Right Honorable R. Basford, who heads, ironically, the ministry of justice, has rushed in to put it even more bluntly. To a cheering Vancouver Liberal rally he declared that the RCMP is "entitled to the support and respect of this country. They have mine in an unqualified way," he cried, "and they are entitled to it from the official opposition."

The facts are that the opposition has all along been complying to the official mythology, that to make any substantial criticism of the RCMP is an act of the most extreme disloyalty. As the loyal opposition, it has been concentrating on the question of Liberal government ministerial responsibility. The Conservative house leader responded to Justice Minister Basford's cynical call to take the pledge of loyalty to the RCMP, by affirming that the issue is not the RCMP itself, but only a part of it—its security service.

But in the process of his defence of the RCMP before the house, Fox said, "Going through the files it is very clear that these operations—break-ins and mail openings—have been going on from time immemorial within the force... Especially where Operation 300 is concerned," he said, "it was quite clear to the RCMP, in their own minds, that the series of break-ins were not illegal."

With these words, inadvertently, Fox threw some light on the nature of the RCMP and the challenge that these latest revelations once again pose to the working class movement.

The myth of the RCMP does not in anyway spring out of the folklore of the white settlers of the west, but has been a conscious fabrication by the big business press and the RCMP hierarchy itself, to cover over its fundamental nature.

The RCMP is one of the most powerful police forces in the world, functioning not only as the federal police force, with the entire country as its domain, but in the western provinces as the provincial police and often as the municipal police as well. Reflecting its origins as a para-military cavalry force, mobilized to end communal ownership of the prairie lands and to crush Indian-Métis resistance to encroachment of the railway interests and white settlement (and the populist movements that rose out of the latter that threatened the domination by the Eastern capitalist interests), the RCMP remains to this day not a civilian but essentially a military force.

The RCMP hierarchy, almost without exception, has been drawn out of the top brass of the Canadian armed forces. For years these

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officers, through the **RCMP Quarterly** and public addresses widely disseminated by the daily press, have marked themselves out as thoroughgoing and vicious reactionaries. They see all working class organizations, and certainly those left of center, to be in fact, if not in law (much to their regret), completely illegal and fair game for harassments of every conceivable type at any and all times they think they can carry them off. Aside from the RCMP's established record as scab-herder and strike-breaker in support of monopoly capitalism and all its works, so crude are the RCMP hierarchy's expressed views that in 1963 the government issued a directive ordering the force to stop making political statements. Nonetheless, the current revelations again show that the RCMP is a political police force directed against the labor and socialist movements.

While in theory the authority of the RCMP Commission is subject to the approval of the minister responsible for the RCMP, according to the investigations of Lorne and Caroline Brown in their **Unauthorized History of the RCMP,** "in practice the minister has no channel of communication with the members of the Force other than through the Commissioner." The Commissioner therefore "has at least as much authority over his officers and his men as a general in the armed forces, if not more."

In an examination which revealed that complaints against the RCMP are investigated by the RCMP itself, which has caused Indians, Métis and Inuit in particular to completely distrust the force, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association some three years ago urged the establishment of a new agency, independent of the RCMP and of government, to investigate citizen's complaints.

The association could not remain silent about the military character the RCMP, in particular as it affects the individual policeman who is denied "the minimum level of legal safeguards which the humblest of Canadians take for granted." The association noted that "members of the RCMP can legally be jailed on the basis solely of RCMP-conducted service trials. These internal trials are held in-camera and the accused Mounties have no right to representation by outside counsel. Moreover, while a Mountie accused of a service offense need not testify at his trial, he is one of the few people in our society who can be jailed for refusing to answer questions in the context of closed police investigations."

Not only is the RCMP a quasi-military formation headed by an ultra-reactionary autocratic hierarchy. Such regulations as Standing Order No. 1156(34), which forbid a member of the force from giving any information to anyone without the permission of the commanding officer, give it a highly secretive and even a conspiratorial character.

The Keable Inquiry initiated by the Quebec government has found that all RCMP documents were stamped Top Secret during the period of the Agence de Presse Libre break-in. The testifying RCMP officer admitted that he himself knew, two and three weeks before the break-in, that it was planned without a search warrant. The RCMP also culls all department files of any possibly embarassing documents before turning them over to the public archives as required by law.

Ex-Corporal Jack Ramsay, in an exposé in **Macleans** in 1972, wrote that "a member must place the force ahead of truth, justice, and service to the people of Canada... You lie, first to survive; then, as fear and guilt blunt conscience, to get ahead."

As we go to press, Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Warren Allmand, former Solicitor-General for four of the Portfolio's twelve-year existence, has thrown a bomb into the top strategy circles of the Liberal party. The press interview of November 16. in which he protested that the RCMP withheld all information about its illegal operations, not only from himself but from other solicitors-general, gravely jeopardizes all their efforts to protect the RCMP in every way possible.

The myth of the RCMP, which Trudeau has used as glue, may no longer serve to prevent his coverup strategy from flying apart, as more revelations affecting wider layers of nervous government officials

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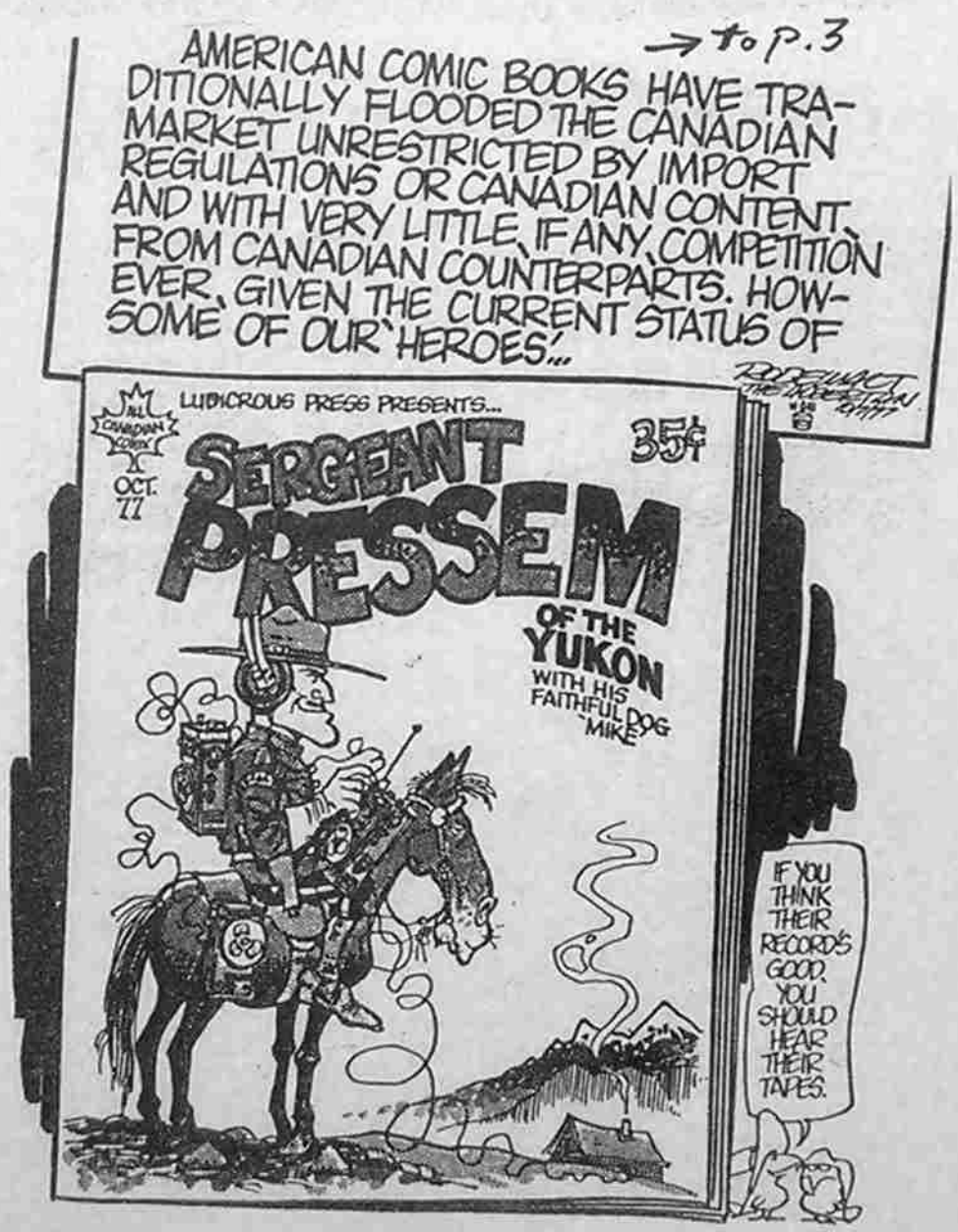
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appear—particularly from the Keable Inquiry over which Ottawa has no control. It is possible that Trudeau will make a tactical retreat into accepting the recommendation from a 1969 commission, which he rejected at the time. That commission recommended that a civilian agency separate from the RCMP be created to deal with espionage and subversion.

In recent articles **Forward** has been calling for the abolition of the RCMP. Quebec's PQ Justice Minister Marc-André Bédard, when faced with the illegal RCMP raid on the PQ's Montreal party office and the theft of membership lists, raised the possibility of legislation that would bring all police activities in Quebec under the control of the Quebec Police Commission. Some weeks previously he told a meeting of the Montreal Policeman's Brotherhood that administration of justice is a provincial (Quebec) concern.

The NDP, in those provinces where the RCMP serves as the provincial police force, should campaign for its removal, and the institution in Saskatchewan where the NDP is in office, of a provincial police force under civilian control.

NDP leadership hems and haws after RCMP caught red-handed

By Wayne Roberts

The RCMP has been caught "red-handed." The meaning of their slogan—"maintain the right"—has never been clearer.

With even Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry expressing "shock and even outrage" at the news of RCMP break-ins on the PQ, Stephen Lewis began to express some of the indignation of a shocked public. Pressing for an Ontario public investigation, Lewis charged that the RCMP "are all nuts—much more dangerous than the organizations they investigate." They are the "CIA of Canada," he added. "it strikes me that they are totally preoccupied with any organization that can be deemed marginally progressive. I simply do not trust the RCMP."

Indeed, the NDP has every reason to feel bitter outrage. Federal party headquarters were broken into and membership lists stolen in 1972, in a raid that bore all the marks of an RCMP dirty tricks squad.

Federal Solicitor General Francis Fox has admitted that the BC NDP government of Dave Barrett was subject to investigation, and that the names of alleged Communists were turned over to "appropriate" members, itself an ominous suggestion of the party leadership's complicity with such illegal tampering in its own party.

The Ontario NDP was also subject to an investigation from 1971 to 1973, particularly its radical Waffle wing. But, as the RCMP sources who disclosed the story admitted, the investigation inevitably spread to the whole party.

In the face of these and other revelations, the NDP leadership has remained unbelievably restrained in its criticisms to the point of allowing the federal Tories to take the offensive against RCMP misdoings.

David Lewis could only utter his criticisms after bowing to the sacred cow and displaying his respect for the RCMP, which has "performed a valuable service and has a great tradition." He regretted that the RCMP revelations were "worth more than all the money (the PQ) is going to spend in the referendum campaign."

National leader Broadbent, himself subject to RCMP wiretaps, has spoken in a similar vein, lamenting the disastrous implications for national unity. "What kind of weapon has the federal government now given to the Parti Québècois?" he cried. He told CBC's "As it Happens" that he doesn't like dealing with "scandals" like the RCMP (as if the disclosure of a massive spy network was some Hollywood style scandal), preferring instead to concentrate on NDP economic policies.

What accounts for this lack of vigor after the most outrageous set of violations of civil liberties in recent Canadian history?

The answer is suggested by the experience of Boris Celovsky, the top civil servant who masterminded the 1972 "corporate welfare bums" campaign of David Lewis. When his teen-age son was "mysteriously" dismissed from the army as a security risk, Celovsky (himself a former RCMP agent) launched an investigation that confirmed RCMP involvement. Celovsky's son had been denied clearance on the basis of his father's political beliefs.

The thorough and vigilant Celovsky is also angry at the NDP, which refused to take up the case of RCMP surveillance of its members. A co-worker, who demanded an explanation of the NDP's inactivity, was told by an NDP official that "we're afraid that by pursuing it, we'll just reinforce the image that we're pinkos."

The NDP faces a choice. The RCMP revelations present the party with an opportunity to undertake unprecedented public education on the repressive nature of the hidden networks of the Canadian state apparatus. Are sacred cows of national unity, respected(?) traditions of the RCMP, and the fear of red-baiting to be placed above obligations to defend and extend civil liberties against Canada's anti red squad? Does the leadership plan to continue to bury its head in the sand, even as its own party is under a surveillance that may well include a full bag of RCMP dirty tricks?

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Quebec's hopes high as Canada's stagnate

By the Editors

In these critical days of unemployment, inflation and police spies, to turn on the TV news and see a throng of 12,000 people wildly cheering a political leader in Canada is cause for pleasant bewonderment. It turns out the celebration is taking place in Quebec (still part of Canada, we remind ourselves) for a premier who has become the most popular ever—a national hero whose visit to France has catapulted him into international prominence as a fighter for the sovereignty of an oppressed people. This status he has achieved in the face of cold hostility from the government of Canada.

It was René Lévesque that we saw acknowledging the accolades on the "National," returning from his triumphal trip to the motherland of French language and culture, where he won virtual support for the Parti Québécois' campaign to establish an independent Quebec on North American soil.

Other Quebec premiers before Lévesque—and Prime Minister Trudeau himself—have travelled abroad and been correctly, even warmly, received, as protocol required. But this time French President Giscard d'Estaing awarded Lévesque the title "Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor"—the highest award possible to anyone not a head of state. But whereas Ottawa had broken off all relations with the tiny African state of Gabon when it dared grant a Quebec representative equal status with other state dignitaries at an educational conference, it could only complain that France's action was "illegal," claiming that protocol requires prior approval of such awards by Ottawa.

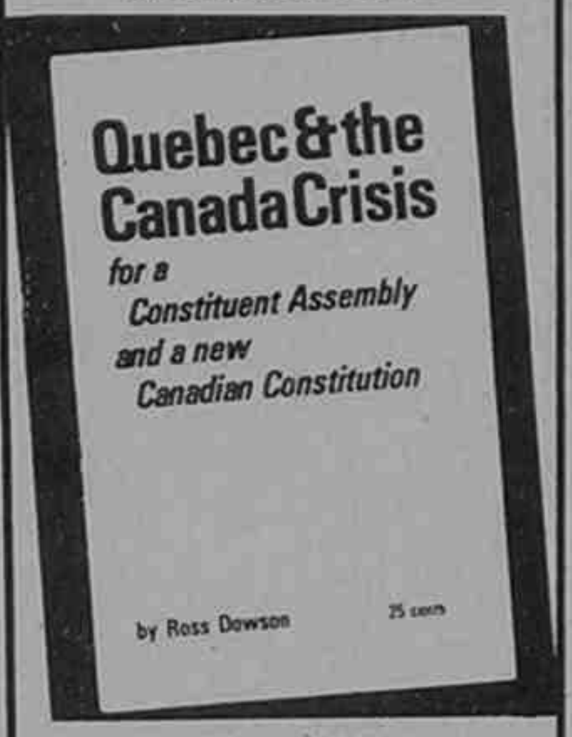
Furthermore, Canadian ambassador Pelletier hadn't even been invited to the special gathering of French National Assembly members where Lévesque spoke and where he was applauded at the mention of Bill 101 on the French language, and assured by the French president of support for "Quebec along the route that you will follow" towards sovereignty. All Pelletier could say was "Canada will not react in haste, but will analyse the visit as a whole before making a judgment," admitting Ottawa's impotence before this international act of recognition of Quebec's status as a nation.

It was with justice that Lévesque accepted the honor in the name of all Québécois—France's treading on the toes of Ottawa bears testimony to the power of Québécois nationalism, and its following rooted in the mass of working people.

That's who those people were on TV cheering Lévesque on his arrival back home, singing nationalist songs and waving signs saying "Oui au referendum"—a segment of Quebec workers who are lifting Lévesque and the PQ on their shoulders in an "irreversible" drive toward sovereignty. Later this month the largest union centrale, the Quebec Federation of Labor, will meet in convention to discuss a document titled "A Program for Today" which will cast a critical eye on the PQ government which it helped elect, and to demand that it act, as expected, "to open the way to more profound changes."

How long will it be before the working people in English Canada have such a cause to cheer, and a sense of solidarity of being a movement marching forward? A new Quebec is being born—and so too must a new Canada.

A WORKING CLASS ANSWER TO THE TASK FORCE ON CANADIAN UNITY



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Forward coverage attacked

Socialist politics and gay liberation — an exchange of views

11-12-3

Toronto

I was shocked and disgusted to see that Ross Dowson's only concrete criticism of the LSA candidate in the recent election was the fact that she is "demonstratively pregnant, single-parent" and a lesbian.

The flaunting of such prejudice in a "socialist" newspaper defies comment, being beneath contempt, but one thing can be said: it certainly makes Dowson's words about "principle" and "wholesale capitulation" ring hollow.

If the LSA tried to rise above the swamp of bourgeois morality it is to be applauded; Dowson's bilge, on the other hand, makes the water fester.

Hide your Jews, your East-Indians, your physically handicapped, hide all your pariahs, forget the words of the **Internationale**-- but hide also your newspaper from the eyes of this reader, himself a pariah and perversely proud of it. Cancel my subscription.

Walter Bruno

Ross Dowson replies:

Walter Bruno's letter, though ostensibly addressed to the readers of **Forward**, first appeared in the October issue of **Socialist Voice**. This somewhat hysterical, completely misguided and highly personal attack on myself was utilized by the editors of that paper, expressing the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, and allocating equal space for their own comments, to serve as a reply of sorts to my article in the September issue of **Forward** on the fusion of the LSA-RMG-GMR into the Revolutionary Workers League. A distinctly minor aspect of my article and Bruno's response has thus been used by the RWL to cover up and smear over the main thoughts of my article.

About the only truths in these attacks is: (1) Bruno's comment that my article made only one concrete criticism, not at all we must insist against the candidate, but against the politics of the LSA campaign in the Ontario election, and (2) the **Socialist Voice** editors' comments that I did not even mention the name of the candidate. The simple fact is that my article did not, and could not, have as its purpose what Bruno criticizes it for neglecting, and it was not at all personal, but political.

Bruno, in an affront to the great name he bears, knows full well that the Canadian Trotskyist movement during the some three decades, when it was a united movement and when I played not an inconsequential role never barred gays from participating in its ranks to further the cause of the class struggle and socialism (as did almost every other socialist formation both here and abroad), but always saw this matter, as does the Socialist League today, from a political point of view, as a question of civil rights. Our aim then, and now, is to advance a program that furthers the development of class consciousness and mobilizes the workers as a class in anti-capitalist struggle—and not at all to raise questions of lifestyle which are so highly divisive and, incidentally, not at all along class lines.

Instead of having the candidate lend her name to enable it to advance its political program, the LSA used Faubert's sexuality to project a radical, but completely pseudo-revolutionary, pseudo-socialist lifestyle, which in our opinion, I repeat, "depoliticized the LSA's effort, freaking out NDPers and others moving to political class consciousness."

In previous issues, while carrying on the Trotskyist tradition in this country, **Forward** has limited its comments in defense of this heritage to opposing the RMG-LSA's sometimes sectarian and sometimes ultra-left deviations. These are problems that have plagued the socialist movement for decades. But with the LSA Ontario campaign, and now the RWL Winnipeg campaign, these self-proclaimed Trotskyists are dragging that tradition down into the mire.

However we are not forced to argue out this question only on the Brampton experience. The LSA-RMG appear to have now raised to a principle that they must at all times counterpose their small forces to the massive and deeply-rooted strength of the New Democratic Party. Thus we have an even more explicit example of this petit-bourgeois, non-class revolutionary posturing in the campaign that, united as the Revolutionary Workers League, they waged in the more recent Manitoba elections in the Osborne-Winnipeg riding.

A four page tabloid newspaper-size leaflet was their central piece of campaign literature. We limit our observations to one section of the program that takes up more than one eighth of this large leaflet. This section is headlined in strong type with the words: "We need an alternative strategy to propel women out of their domestic prisons and break asunder the chains of sexual misery and oppression that fetter them, especially lesbians and their gay brothers. ..."

This section is given heightened prominence in the tabloid by a strong graphic depicting, in bold lines, two women embracing one another ecstatically, with a caption that reads: "We shall enjoy it—as for him who finds fault, may silliness and sorrow take him." The quotations is attributed to the poet Sappho of Lesbos.

A part of this section presents as the RWL's program its version of the program of another movement, the Gay Liberation Movement, which, it pontificates, speaks not only for the estimated 15% of the population thought to be gay, but "for all those who want greater freedom and fulfilment in love relations." One of seven specific measures that the RWL program calls for in this area (one by no means supported by any substantial force in the gay movement, and correctly so if only for the fact that it plays right into the hands of anti-gay bigots, and can only undermine the struggle for gay civil rights) is: "End all restrictions on non-coercive sexual expression, including anti-homosexual and age of consent laws."

Over the past several years the press of these two groups have broken new ground for what they pass off as Trotskyism. In one issue they would take a position, only in a subsequent issue to make a 180 degree reversal—leaving those who might have followed their advice completely discredited in their fellow workers' eyes, and never explaining for educational, let alone elementary sanitary purposes, the possible reasons for the volte face.

Astonishingly, the readers of **Socialist Voice** have not only been deprived of the slightest clue of the part of the Osborne election campaign I have mentioned, but have been, for completely unexplained reasons, totally and consciously misinformed by the two major articles covering the campaign. George McMaster's article in the September 26 issue reporting on "the major themes of the RWL program" contains not one word on this contentious section. In his post election analysis in the October 24 issue, Barry Weisleder limits his comments on this aspect of the campaign to the incredible words that it "defended the rights of women and gays."

We can only speculate what lies behind this completely fraudulent presentation of the Winnipeg campaign by the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers League.

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ON THE LINE

11-12-4

CLC backs brass

By P. Kent

According to Local 353 Business Manager Bill Hardy, Toronto members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers voted by the slender margin of 13 votes—1,337 against, 1,350 in favor—of accepting a contract imposed on them almost a month ago.

After two months on strike, the Toronto electricians had been ordered back on the job by the international vice president of the U.S.-based International Brotherhood, Ken Rose. A proposal by the local's executive that a ratification vote of the membership be held on the contractors' offer was cynically brushed aside by Rose. The opposition to Rose's edict was strong, but it retreated from defying it, with a block of militants launching a campaign for a no vote. In an advertisement the opposition challenged that Rose's back to work edict was possibly in violation of the Ontario Labor Relations Act.

The local's demand for a shortening of the work week from 37½ hours to 30 to alleviate unemployment in their ranks was replaced by a banking-of-hours scheme that the opposition pointed out "will be sent to arbitration, a procedure which will take months to settle." The opposition condemned the agreement as being "incomplete and fuzzy." The Electrical Contractors Association saw the local's demand, which would have accepted a loss in the weekly pay envelope, as setting a dangerous precedent for a subsequent campaign for a 4 day week with no loss in pay.

Business Manager Hardy expressed relief about the vote, which being so close, he conceded, "is still kind of unsatisfactory." Hardy only holds his post thanks to the U.S. brass. He is an appointee of theirs, having been voted out of office by the Toronto membership last March.

As the IBEW bureaucracy's credibility falls to a new low with an increasing desire on the part of the Canadian membership to break out of its control, the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress brought Rose into their upper echelon. The CLC executive council meeting over Sept. 27-28 appointed him a general vice-president. Rose replaced E.T. Stanley of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, who had long served as the unofficial spokesman for the U.S.-based craft union machines on the CLC executive.

BC Teamsters fight

The BC Supreme Court has granted an injunction to Senator Ed Lawson's clique in the Vancouver Teamsters Local 213 executive, thereby forcing Jack Vlahovic to vacate the office of secretary treasurer which he won in last January's election. Vlahovic headed a reform slate of candidates which won three of the seven executive ofices, including the presidency. The election of the militants resulted in a series of skirmishes masterminded by Lawson, backed up by International President Frank Fitzsimmons.

Vlahovic's attempts to add four to the staff of the local were blocked when Lawson informed the executive that the by-laws under which the local had been operating since 1973, including the secretary-treasurer's power to hire and fire, have never been formally approved by the U.S. head-office.

The Fitzsimmons leadership next granted a special charter to a new local that would cut 2,000 BC interior members out of Local 213—almost 25% of its membership. The charter granted by the U.S.-based international executive board without consultation with the Canadian members roused the ire of BC interior teamsters.

Then in Mid-September a closed trial conducted by a seven member handpicked panel with Lawson leading the prosecution, found Vlahovic guilty as charged of contravening the union's international constitution. He was ordered removed from office forthwith, barred from holding any office in the future, and ordered to reimburse the union almost $10,000 for unauthorized expenditures.

The meeting of Local 213 to which Vlahovic's expulsion from office was reported was told that Fitzsimmons fully approved of the expulsion. An attempt to appoint a replacement was roundly rejected with a vote to restore Vlahovic to office. A motion calling for a referendum as to whether the membership had confidence in Senator Lawson as an elected trustee was approved. A call for a province-wide strike unless the international headquarters backs down was met with roars of approval.

In an apparent attempt to cool the situation the BC Socred government has intervened with a board of inquiry. The militants have commenced a campaign to rally support behind a petition they are circulating through the 8,700 members of Local 213. The petition calls for the removal of Lawson from his post as trustee.

Dailies struck over workers' control

Three of the biggest Quebec daily newspapers have been struck. The biggest, Montreal's **La Presse**, since October 6; Quebec City's **Le Soleil**, since August 30; along with **Montréal-Matin**. The silence of the cross-Canada media on this important struggle is overwhelming. The issue is workers' control.

Reporters and copy editors at **Le Soleil** struck over demands involving greater control over their work. They demand that there be no changes in reporters' articles without permission. They want to determine the number of free lancers and part time employees. Daniel Marsolais, president of the **La Presse** journalists' union, says: "The fundamental issue in the conflict is ultimately a demand in our contract proposal that management appointees must be accepted by the union members who will be working under their orders."

The strike at **La Presse** broke out when reporters in the sports department refused to recognize a management appointed sports editor and designated a sports editor from among themselves. The latter along with several reporters was suspended and in solidarity the papers' staff of 208 walked out.

Montréal-Matin, which in 1973 became part of the Power Corporation empire of Paul Desmarais which also includes **La Presse**, has been steadily absorbed by **La Presse.** Its staff was in effect locked out when **La Presse** was shut down.

The struggle by Quebec journalists for greater control over editorial policy has been an integral part of the developing nationalist struggle there. In 1975 reporters at **Le Devoir** established majority unionized employees' control over a committee which meets once a week to review past and future coverage of events. The committee's decision-making powers are subject to the publisher's veto but it has not so far been exercised.

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11-12-5

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

"Foreign banks are literally invading Canada," writes Anthea Thorp for the **Financial Times News Service**, October 11.

Along with the provisions of the White Paper that the Trudeau government issued a little over a year ago with regard to amendments to the Bank Act, which are soon to be presented to parliament, the banks are being spurred by the possibilities offered in financing the northern pipeline.

Through the White Paper, Ottawa announced that for the first time foreign banks will be permitted to apply for a charter and thus break into the circle monopolized until now by the Big Five Canadian banking institutions—allowing them to compete much more freely right out in the open. It is estimated that there are now approximately 150 representative offices of foreign banks in Canada.

Well out in front are the U.S. banks, particularly Citibank—First National City Bank of New York—with assets almost twice as big as Canada's biggest — the Royal.

Canadian banking interests, after having opened up their boards of directors to representatives of U.S. corporate interests, helping the U.S. takeover of key sectors of the economy by financing it with Canadian funds, are alarmed. They fear U.S. branch plant operations will automatically shift their business to the new chartered banks that their head offices already deal with and are even more locked into. They fear all the cream will be skimmed off and that they will be left only with the smaller higher cost segments of the business.

President Richard Thomson of the Toronto-Dominion colossus, has, ironically, appeared as a spokesman for free competition. He is voicing fears that the chartering of foreign banks will block the development of any new Canadian banks which he and his cohorts have been so successful in blocking for scores of years. He is also suggesting that the heightened presence of foreign banks will weaken the ability of the Bank of Canada in its attempts to direct the Canadian financial system.

But it is crystal clear, with the key sectors of the Canadian economy already controlled by the U.S. corporate elite, U.S. domination of Canadian trade, and the continentalist policy of the Canadian corporate elite, that the working people of Canada and their interests have not the slightest input into the financial system. The coming debate on the Bank Act should be utilized to promote the demand for public ownership and control of all the banking and financial interests in the country.

●

The battle against the imperialization of Canadian culture, against the engulfment of Canadian theatre, TV programming and movie production by the U.S. entertainment industry, has been heating up—with the Association of Canadian Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) holding centre stage.

The 5,500 professional dancers, singers, broadcasters, actors and talkers, still negotiating but without a contract with the government-owned CBC since May 31,1976, are fighting back. Some 3,000 of them earn less than $1,000 year—only 115 earn $25,000 or over. Yet the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission, without consultation with the union, issued some 30,000 working permits to foreign performers last year.

In a token move to counter protests against the hard fact that U.S. movies gross 180 million of the 200 million dollar annual movies' box office, Ottawa granted producers coming to Canada—presumably utilizing Canadian facilities and Canadian talent—a 100% write-off for their investment, and to movies that have an investment by the Canadian Film Development Corporation or other government agencies. Yet a staff report on the 36 certified Canadian movies made since November 1974, prepared for Secretary of State John Roberts, shows that of the 25 highest paid lead actors, only 12 were Canadian, and of the 25 supporting or second-highest paid actors only 16% were Canadian.

ACTRA hs widened its fight against the employment of foreign talent at the expense of its Canadian membership by refusing to issue work permits for more than two non-Canadian stars per film.

Kirwin Cox, vice-chairman of the 7,000 member Council of Canadian Filmmakers, hailed the ACTRA moves. "This will slow down the rush to 'fake' Canadian films which take advantage of government support...to create a branch-plant industry. We have enough branch-plant industries in this country."

Despite the barrage of false charges that it is guilty of national chauvinism and depriving Canadian performers of the opportunity of working with outstanding foreign artists, ACTRA is holding firm. It is vigorously defending its action of pulling 100 of its members off a CBC production which employed a U.S. singer in a lead role that the union claimed could be handled by one of its members. It has taken disciplinary action against ACTRA members who defied the union ruling by participating in the taping. The union has levied suspensions and fines against 5 performers who defied the union's ruling—among them the internationally acclaimed singer Maureen Forrester who was fined $850 and suspended for one year.

●

The staid Senate science committee, through its leading Liberal and Tory appointees, has been forced to admit that Ottawa has done nothing to put together a coherent science policy. Through Chairman Senator Lamontagne, the committee told the press that they believe a science policy based on coherent planning could solve such pressing economic problems as the decline in Canadian manufacturing and export industries. But its recommendations of some five years ago, he said, have been ignored.

The Science Council, a federal government agency with 75 full-time employees and an annual budget exceeding two million dollars, is about to release a report of its Industrial Policies Committee. In an interview, Science Council Executive Director John Shepherd, admitted that: "Between industry and government, we've ridden through this euphoria of employment growth provided by a branch-plant economy. In the process we've accepted foreign direct investment as a substitute for the building up of viable Canadian-owned corporations."

During the 1960's, "when our manufacturing industries supposedly flourished, few countries (except in the Third World) did as badly as Canada in raising the proportion of finished manufactures in their exports... the 1960's were actually a period of serious decay in Canadian manufacturing."

As Trudeau admitted a couple of years ago, the free enterprise system just isn't working. The Canadian capitalist system governed by the Canadian corporate elite and its Liberal and Tory political stooges is working less than other parts of the capitalist system. It needs to be replaced by an economy run in the interests of humanity, and not profits for capital.